



Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-246
Tuesday
26 December 1989

Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-246

CONTENTS

26 December 1989

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Perfilyev 25 Dec Foreign Ministry News Briefing	1
Details Aid to Romania [TASS]	1
More on Romanian Situation, Aid Plans [Moscow Radio]	1
Notes Rebel Bombardment of Kabul [TASS]	1
Discusses Panama Situation [TASS]	2
UN Security Council Vote on Panama Vetoed [TASS]	2
Moscow TV Interviews NATO Secretary General [Moscow TV]	3

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Romania, Panama Discussed With U.S. Ambassador [TASS]	4
Shevardnadze-Matlock Meeting	4
Aboimov-Matlock Meeting	4
TASS Reports Baker NBC Interview on Panama	4
Scowcroft Beijing Visit Revives U.S.-PRC Ties [IZVESTIYA 12 Dec]	5

China

Falin Arrives in Beijing for 23 Dec Talks [Moscow International]	5
Visit, Increased Contacts Viewed [Moscow International]	6
USSR, PRC Begin To Demilitarize Borders [Nikolayev on Moscow International]	6

East Europe

Brandenburg Gate 'Finally' Open to Pedestrians [TASS]	7
Reportage on Violence, Developments in Romania	7
CSSR's Adamec, Mohorita Statements Cited [TASS]	7
Albania 'Respects' Changes [TASS]	8
Rapid, Peaceful Conclusion Sought [AFP]	8
22 Dec Events in Bucharest Noted [TASS]	8
Premier, Government Resign [TASS]	8
Troops Join People to Defend Radio, TV [TASS]	9
TV Broadcasts 'Stopped'; Radio Appeals [TASS]	9
TASS Reports From TV Studios on Events	9
Ceausescu Troops Rush to Capital [TASS]	9
Forces 'To Liquidate' CC Members [TASS]	10
National Salvation Council Formed [TASS]	10
TV Alerts TASS to 'Critical Situation' [TASS]	10
TASS on Strength of 'Peoples Revolution'	11
Commander Vlad Address to Romania [TASS]	11
Palace Fired on 23 Dec [TASS]	11
Ministry Denies Military Aid Offer [Budapest TV]	12
Akhromeyev—No Knowledge of Military Aid [AFP]	12
Romania To Respect Pact Obligations [TASS]	12
Pact Foreign Ministers Likely To Meet [AFP]	13
Ryzhkov—Sending Troops 'Unacceptable' [AFP]	13
Government Statement Backs National Front [TASS]	13
TASS Bucharest Office Closed [TASS]	13
USSR Buildings Damaged, Staff Hurt [TASS]	13
23 Dec Situation in Romanian TV Studio [Moscow TV]	13

N. Militaru Appointed Defense Minister [TASS]	14
Romanian Embassy Backs Salvation Front [Moscow TV]	14
\$400 Million in Ceausescu Swiss Accounts [Moscow TV]	14
'Terrible Picture' of Timisoara [TASS]	15
23 Dec Casualties in Timisoara [Moscow TV]	15
'Fierce Gunfire' in Bucharest 23 Dec [TASS]	15
Kishinev Students Condemn Repression [Kishinev Radio]	16
Moldavian Authorities Voice 'Concern' [TASS]	16
Medical Aid Offered [Moscow TV]	16
Moldavians Organize Medical Relief [PRAVDA 24 Dec]	17
Moldavians Give Aid, Send Cable [TASS]	17
More on Moldavian Aid [IZVESTIYA 25 Dec]	17
TASS Statement on Citizens Fate [IZVESTIYA 24 Dec]	18
Soviets in Bucharest Safe [Moscow Radio]	18
Romanian Professor Asks Military Aid [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 24 Dec]	19
Romania's Oprea Welcomes Changes [TASS]	19
Soviet Red Cross Prepares Aid [TASS]	19
24 Dec Situation Updated [Moscow TV]	19
Salvation Front Members Named [IZVESTIYA 25 Dec]	20
Ceausescu Compared to Stalin, Brezhnev [Moscow TV]	21
Ministry on Solidarity With Romania [TASS]	21
'Virtual Recognition' of Front Noted [TASS]	21
Romanian Diplomats Support Front [TASS]	22
Z. Ceausescu Arrested; Front Groups Spread [Moscow Radio]	22
Democratic Committee on Timisoara [TASS]	23
25 Dec Situation in Timisoara [Moscow TV]	23
Vremya on 25 Dec Bucharest Events [Moscow TV]	24
TASS on Normalization in Bucharest	24
Otopeni Airport Resumes Operation [TASS]	25
Romanian TV on Ceausescus' Execution [TASS]	25
New Leaders Elected [TASS]	26

Latin America & Caribbean

Komplektov, Nicaragua's Ortega Meet 21 Dec [TASS]	26
Combat Vehicles Sent to U.S. Managua Embassy [TASS]	26
U.S. Troops Surround Cuban Embassy in Panama [TASS]	27
Moscow Media View U.S. Intervention in Panama	27
Mayorov on Moscow International	27
TASS Comment	27
TRUD 22 Dec	28
TASS Dispatch	29
IZVESTIYA 23 Dec	30
Levchenko on Moscow International	31
U.S. Reactions to Panama 'Invasion' Viewed [PRAVDA 22 Dec]	31

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Congress of People's Deputies

Gorbachev Briefs Congress on Romanian Events	32
Proposes To Send Message to Romania [Moscow TV]	32
Says 'Situation Remains Tense' [IZVESTIYA 25 Dec]	32
Notes Romanian Army 'In Control' [Moscow Radio]	33
Congress Adopts Constitutional Compliance Law [TASS]	33
Congress Approves Resolution on Tbilisi [TASS]	33
Gorbachev Comments on April Violence in Tbilisi [TASS]	34
Congress Adopts Resolution on 1939 Baltics Pact [TASS]	34
Congress Condemns Sending Troops to Afghanistan [TASS]	35
Nishanov Reads Declaration on Transport Blockade [Moscow TV]	35
Primakov Reports to Congress on 'Privileges' [TASS]	36

2d Congress Ends, Gorbachev Addresses Deputies [PRAVDA 25 Dec]	36
Ryzhkov Interviewed on Congress, Other Issues [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 26 Dec]	39

Political & Social

Reportage on CPSU CC Plenum on Lithuania	40
25 Dec Speakers Listed [TASS]	40
Gorbachev 25 Dec Report [Moscow Radio]	41
Gorbachev Lithuania Visit Suggested [TASS]	51
Journalist Cited on Gorbachev Lithuanian Visit [AFP]	52
Lithuanian Congress Proceedings Reported [Vilnius Radio]	52
1705 GMT 22 Dec	52
0800 GMT 23 Dec	52
Brazauskas' 20th Congress Concluding Speech [Vilnius Radio]	53
Brazauskas Interviewed on Party Policy [Moscow International]	54
Lithuanian Resolution on Statute Implementation [Vilnius Radio]	54
Lithuanian CP Appeals to CPSU for Understanding [Vilnius International]	54
Lithuanian Communist 'Crimes,' 'Mistakes' Noted [Vilnius Radio]	54
Lithuanian Resolution on Past 'Crimes' [Vilnius Radio]	55
TASS Reports Lithuanian Communist Party Split	56
IZVESTIYA Reports End of Lithuanian Congress [24 Dec]	57
Tbilisi Riot Inquiry's Findings To Date [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 13 Dec]	57
Dialogue Leads to Opening of New Mosques in Baku [Baku Radio]	60
Kurdish Intellectuals Criticize Azerbaijan [Yerevan Radio]	61
Further on Kurdish Criticism [Yerevan International]	61
Frunze Journalists Charged for Picketing [A. Ivanov in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 50]	62
Ukraine Health Section for Officials Abolished [Kiev International]	62
Zhitomir Obkom Replaces First Secretary [PRAVDA 19 Dec]	62
Yanayev on Crimean Tatars' Right of Return [Moscow TV]	62
Orthodox Synod Urges End to Catholic Violence [TASS]	63
Anti-AES Campaign Issue in Chelyabinsk [IZVESTIYA 5 Dec]	64
Russians Boycott Local Elections in Estonia [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 19 Dec]	64
Samizdat, Informal Information Exchange Described [MOSCOW NEWS No 49]	65
CPSU Secretary Stroyev at Food Plant 3 Nov [PRAVDA 3 Nov]	65
Official Urges Legalization of Lobbying [MOSCOW NEWS No 47]	66
Commentary Discusses Press Freedom, Pressure [Glebov on Moscow International]	67
National Mood Surrounding 2d Congress Assessed [LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 50]	68
Roy Medvedev Criticizes Interregional Group [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 20 Dec]	69
AUCCTU's Yanayev on Unions' Role, Elections [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 5 Dec]	70

Perfilyev 25 Dec Foreign Ministry News Briefing

Details Aid to Romania

LD2512144689 Moscow TASS in English 1438 GMT
25 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 25 TASS—The new Romanian leadership has not asked the Soviet Union to provide military assistance, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing here today.

"The point at issue today is humanitarian, medical and food assistance," he remarked.

Perfilyev disclosed that the Soviet Union and its allies discussed a possible meeting for consultations. "In view of the developments, however, it was decided that there is now no need for such a meeting," he said.

The spokesman emphasised that the situation in Romania remains tense "even though there are signs of its normalisation in the capital."

Soviet people express support for the friendly Romanian people by "sending condolences over the fatalities and by specific relief actions," Perfilyev stated.

Humanitarian assistance from Moscow, Moldavia and the Ukraine is sent to Romania whenever there is a chance, he pointed out.

Preparations have been started in border areas for a possible admission of the wounded. 6,000 hospital beds have been set aside and blood transfusion centres have been established.

Soviet organisations maintain constant contact with corresponding international and national groups of other countries.

The sincere sympathy expressed by the Soviet people evokes appreciation in Romania, Perfilyev emphasised.

The spokesman said that the tragedy in Romania did not bypass Soviet nationals in that country. Two Soviets were wounded since the start of clashes in Bucharest. Ten Soviet motorists were wounded in the region of the Romanian-Yugoslav border.

In connection with the current situation, it was decided to evacuate the families of Soviet employees, a total of 280 people, Perfilyev said.

At this moment they are on a train that is to cross the Soviet border today. Regrettably, their arrival is being delayed due to broken electric lines. No hostilities were reported in the region where the train stopped, he added.

Perfilyev said that by arrangement with the Romanian side, 224 Soviet holiday-makers in Romania's mountain resorts will remain in the country until the first opportunity. The situation in the region remains calm, he said.

More on Romanian Situation, Aid Plans

LD2512205989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1730 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Excerpt] At a briefing in the USSR Foreign Ministry today Perfilyev, first deputy head of the Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, told of the situation in Romania.

[Begin Perfilyev recording] The situation remains tense in Bucharest and up until now the exchange of fire between army units and the elements, who in Romania are called terrorist elements by the population, is continuing. Numerous armed sorties against the new authorities are being neutralized. The situation in the capital is gradually returning to normal. There are no interruptions in the water and power supply. the AGERPRESS reports say that armed clashes with the forces which have remained loyal to the previous regime continued also in some other parts of the country.

The sincere sympathy for the friendly Romanian people, which was expressed initially in the form of a message by the Congress of People's Deputies and afterward in a statement by the Soviet government, is meeting with a grateful response in Romania. From the very outset, regarding the Romanian people's actions as an act of free will, a striving toward renewing its society on the principles of democracy, the Soviet people continue to express their support. In particular, this is expressed also in the condolences which are being voiced in connection with the human fatalities sustained, and also in the concrete actions to provide the appropriate aid. As a matter of urgency, an aid group has been set up and sets of first-aid kits, surgical instruments, dressing, and other things with a total weight of 1.5 tonnes have been made up. They have been stockpiled at Sheremetyevo airport for urgent dispatch to Bucharest. As soon as such a opportunity arises this aid will be delivered to Romania.

In Moldavia and in the Ukraine, Red Cross societies have announced the opening of accounts into which these republics' citizens can pay monetary funds in aid of the victims. Clothing and other effects are being collected. Food and medicines are being bought up. Moldavia's Red Cross Society has dispatched trucks with a load of aid to the border with Romania. Part of this load has already been taken across onto Romanian territory.

In the border zone—in Kishinev, Lvov, and other towns—medical establishments have been prepared to receive the injured: 6,000 beds. The work of three centers and 50 points for blood transfusion has been organized: These are ready to receive donors if need be. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Notes Rebel Bombardment of Kabul

LD2512160189 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1447 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 Dec (TASS)—The Afghan armed opposition again has stepped up its bombardments of the

residential districts of Kabul, said Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at a briefing held today. More shells already have been fired at the town in December than in the whole of November.

The representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs noted in particular that in addition to the usual shells, cluster shells, which scatter a large number of antipersonnel mines over a vast area, have begun to be used lately during these bombardments. According to the Soviet diplomat, this type of ammunition was once tested by the U.S. Army in Vietnam. In Afghanistan, it is predominantly children playing in the streets or in parks who suffer from these mines.

Foreign advisors and even whole groups of foreigners, most often from the Arab countries, who have the task of bombarding Kabul, are constantly in the outskirts of Kabul. Their targets are the bazaars, sites at which goods are distributed to the population, and other places where people gather. There is a constant growth in victims because of the great killing forces of the shells. Vadim Perfilyev reported that the insurgents are paid 20,000 Afghanis for every shell fired.

International terrorism on the territory of Afghanistan, said the Soviet diplomat, would of course be impossible without the complicity and participation of foreign states. It is assuming ever more refined forms.

Discusses Panama Situation

LD2512160689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1510 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 Dec (TASS)—“The speed and categoricality” of the complete support by Margaret Thatcher’s government for the U.S. aggression in Panama was noted at a briefing here today by Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry’s Information Directorate. “To all appearances,” he stressed, “no doubts arose within the British leadership in this instance on the accordance of the U.S. invasion with the norms of international law, there was no concern in connection with its consequences for international relations as a whole.”

“If the British support for the U.S. invasion reflects the understanding by official London of the special character of U.S.- British relations, then this cannot but be cause for concern, not only in Britain itself, but outside it as well,” the Foreign Ministry spokesman stated.

Vadim Perfilyev also touched on the results of the vote that took place in the UN Security Council on 23 December on the draft resolution introduced by the nonaligned country members of the council in which the sovereign and inalienable right of Panama to define its social, economic, and political system freely, and which also contained the demand for the immediate removal of U.S. troops from that country. He stressed that the draft was not adopted because the United States, Britain, and

France used their veto. The Soviet Union, voting for the resolution’s adoption, the Soviet diplomat said, shares the qualification contained in the resolution of the intervention in Panama as a violation of international law, and also of the principles of independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of states. Meeting the demand to withdraw the troops is an important condition for restoring peace in this country. He did not exclude the possibility of the issue of armed interference in Panama’s affairs being discussed at the 44th UN General Assembly in the coming days.

Speaking about Soviet citizens in Panama, Vadim Perfilyev said that none of them had been hurt. At the present time, he reported, in Panama there are representatives of the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet and of Aeroflot, as well as a TASS correspondents center and NOVOSTI bureau. Officials of the Soviet institutions indicated and their family members remain in that country, since there is no danger to their lives or health, the diplomat stressed.

UN Security Council Vote on Panama Vetoed

LD2412135989 Moscow TASS in English 1159 GMT 24 Dec 89

[Text] New York December 24 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Menkes:

The United States, France and Britain prevented the UN Security Council from adopting a resolution expressing deep regret at the U.S. armed intervention in Panama and demanding an immediate end to the intervention.

The above three countries which are the council’s permanent members, vetoed the document proposed by a group of non-aligned states at an urgently called meeting of the Security Council on Saturday evening.

The Canadian representative also voted against the resolution. The draft resolution was backed by 10 countries, including the USSR. Finnish representative abstained.

The question of U.S. armed action in Panama was discussed by the Security Council at its meetings and consultations for several days. The overwhelming majority of debate participants sharply denounced the invasion.

Colombian permanent representative to the UN Enrique Penasola, speaking right before the voting, stressed that the invasion is a crude violation of the UN Charter and international law. No arguments can justify the occupation of one state by another, he noted.

Soviet chief delegate Aleksandr Belonogov said that the Soviet delegation voted for the draft resolution, since it confirms Panama’s sovereign and inalienable right to determine freely its social, economic and political system.

"We share the qualification in the document of the intervention in Panama by the U.S. Armed Forces as a glaring violation of international law as well as the principles of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of states," he noted.

The statement by the Soviet Government of December 21, 1989 emphasises that "the U.S. armed action against Panama is a challenge to the international community seeking to build its relations on the principles of respect for sovereignty and dignity of other nations," the Soviet representative continued.

The U.S. action runs counter to multilateral efforts aimed at a political settlement in Central America. The United States cynically claims that it took the action "to protect democracy" in Panama. But democracy is not brought on bayonets and by bombing raids.

The Soviet delegation deeply regretted that the resolution was not adopted as a result of a triple veto, Belonogov noted. This frustrated the Security Council's actions to end the U.S. intervention.

The Soviet representative said in conclusion that under the condition of the U.S. continued intervention, the Security Council should closely follow the development of the situation in Panama in order to achieve the earliest end of the intervention and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from that country.

Moscow TV Interviews NATO Secretary General

*LD2412194789 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1500 GMT 24 Dec 89*

[From the "International Panorama," program presented by political observer Igor Kudrin; interview with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner by correspondent Kipras Mazheyka in Brussels; date not given—Woerner speaks in English with superimposed Russian translation, Mazheyka speaks in French with superimposed Russian translation]

[Excerpts] The leaders of the North Atlantic Alliance have also been following the course of changes in the

fraternal states carefully. It's no coincidence that I have brought up the subject of NATO. An extraordinary event, the consequences of which have not yet affected East-West relations, took place some days ago at that organization's headquarters which is located in Brussels. [passage omitted]

[Mazheyka] Over the past years a new custom has appeared within these walls. USSR Gosteleradio is among the few television companies which has not been refused an interview by the NATO secretary general. Let us continue that tradition.

[Woerner] The task of NATO as an organization has always come down to one thing—not just ensuring stability but also establishing constructive dialogue with the East which leads from confrontation to cooperation. Indeed, we have to welcome the changes which are now visible in the Soviet Union and in other eastern European countries. We support your course toward radical reforms and I will not conceal the fact that we are interested in the success of Mr Gorbachev. I note here that the position which we occupy is by no means a passive one. We are attempting to set up active political and economic links. Thus, I hope that one fine day an integrated Europe will be a continent where law, liberty, and stability will reign.

[Mazheyka] In your view, what are the prospects for establishing direct contacts between NATO and the Warsaw Pact? This topic was probably touched on during your meeting with Eduard Shevardnadze which has just ended?

[Woerner] Our guest visited us in his capacity as USSR minister of foreign affairs. We did talk about relations of this kind. I said to Mr Shevardnadze that at the moment it is evidently a little premature to establish official contacts between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. However, if the changes in the countries belonging to the Warsaw Pact develop toward the political unification of sovereign, independent and self-governing states, then very interesting prospects will also open up on the level of developing direct contacts between the two alliances. [video shows Mazheyka and Woerner]

United States & Canada

Romania, Panama Discussed With U.S. Ambassador

Shevardnadze-Matlock Meeting

LD2212200589 Moscow TASS in English 1933 GMT
22 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 22 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze received U.S. Ambassador in the USSR Jack Matlock at the latter's request today. Questions of the development of the situation in Romania were discussed.

On the instruction of his government, Matlock gave the American view of the situation in that country.

From the Soviet side it was noted that the USSR views the events as the expression of the will of the Romanian people who are striving for renewal of society on the principles of democracy, at a time of trial for socialist Romania. The Soviet people express support for the Romanian people and sympathise with them over the loss of life.

The question of the U.S. invasion of Panama was touched upon. Reference in this connection was made to the Soviet Government's statement. It was noted that the United States must stop its interference in the sovereign country's affairs.

Aboimov-Matlock Meeting

LD2412141489 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1210 GMT 24 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, 24 Dec (TASS)—Ivan Aboimov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, today received Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, at his request. An exchange of opinions took place on the most acute situations taking place in the world, including the events taking place just now in Romania.

At the request of the U.S. side, Ivan Aboimov set out the Soviet appraisal of these events, stressing that the Soviet people feel solidarity with the Romanian people who are standing up for the realization of the ideals of freedom, democracy, and national dignity.

The readiness of the USSR to give immediate effective aid in the humanitarian sphere to the Romanian people was noted.

The U.S. ambassador also announced the readiness of the United States to give humanitarian aid to Romania.

TASS Reports Baker NBC Interview on Panama

LD2412230989 Moscow TASS in English 2123 GMT
24 Dec 89

[Text] Washington December 24 TASS—United States troops invading Panama will remain in the country for

an indefinite time, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker said in an interview with the NBC network on Sunday.

Asked about how long the U.S. troops will remain in Panama—two months, half a year or perhaps a year, Baker said:

"I think it would be a mistake to put a date on it. The President has said very clearly, 'there is no time line, no time frame.'... I think the standard should be that we should be there as long as it takes to get the job done."

"The President's order was to get the job done, both in terms of quantity and the duration of the stay of American forces in Panama... we certainly ought to do whatever is required to get the job done."

"Well, of course, you'd like to see this accomplished in as short a period of time as possible. You'd like to see the American troops that had to be inserted there withdrawn back to the United States at such time as it was appropriate and safe to do so."

"Clearly, we're going to maintain a presence in Panama. That's one of the reasons that we're in there now, in force, is because of our presence in Panama and because of our obligation to preserve, protect, and defend the canal."

Baker said that the military operation in Panama was carried out in "absolutely superb fashion".

"I don't think we should seek to somehow criticize the military operation simply because we've not as yet been able to pick up Noriega."

"The Defense Department and the military are quite confident, I think, that ultimately that objective (to seize Noriega) will be attained. It will certainly continue to be an objective," Baker said.

Responding to criticism from most Latin American countries who denounced U.S. invasion in Panama, Baker put the blame on the Organisation of Latin American States: "One of the biggest disappointments that I've seen in the 11 months that I've been in this job was the inability of the Organisation of Latin American States to move effectively on this problem of Noriega and Panama. The United States worked very hard, diplomatically and in both a bilateral and multilateral way—multilaterally through the OAS—to try and take care of this problem. And I think if the OAS has been able to generate greater support for some of the things that the United States suggested—political sanctions, economic sanctions, and things like that, maybe we wouldn't find ourselves in this situation today."

Baker declined to answer directly if the United States, as a nation of laws, will follow the OAS recommendation to withdraw from Panama immediately.

The OAS passed the resolution during a recent meeting in Washington by a vote of 20 to 1, saying that they deeply regret the U.S. intervention in Panama.

"Well, we are a nation of laws, and we have a solid legal basis for doing what we've done," Baker said, reiterating that had there been greater cooperation from the OAS "it might not have been required that the United States resort to the measures it's used."

Scowcroft Beijing Visit Revives U.S.-PRC Ties

PM1212163589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Blinov dispatch: "United States-PRC: Breaking Ice?"]

[Text] Washington—Washington issued an official announcement of national security adviser Brent Scowcroft's visit to the PRC at 0200 hours on Saturday, when the aircraft carrying the U.S. representatives (including Lawrence Eagleburger, deputy secretary of state) had already landed at Beijing Airport. Prior to this even many senior State Department people and U.S. diplomats in the PRC did not know of the visit.

What was the reason for the secret preparations for the trip? U.S. newspapers claim that the surprise visit is evidence of a turnaround in the incumbent administration's policy toward the PRC.

Some 6 months ago, during the events on Tiananmen Square, the U.S. Administration described the actions taken by the Chinese authorities as repressive. A series of sanctions were announced against the PRC: Contacts were severed between senior officials in the two countries, shipments of military equipment were stopped, and a number of trade and economic programs were suspended. The Chinese authorities retaliated by accusing Washington of trying to undermine the socialist system in China.

As time passed, the diplomatic deadlock deepened. Each side told the other to try to find a way out. When former U.S. President R. Nixon—he initiated the establishment of U.S.-PRC diplomatic relations—arrived in Beijing on an unofficial mission, he was told the following: This time Washington must make the first move toward normal relations.

THE NEW YORK TIMES claims that Beijing also insisted on secret preparations: "The Chinese wanted to stress that the Americans should come on Chinese terms rather than the other way around." Obviously, the White House also needed the veil of secrecy. This helped avoid interference from the Congress, where there are still strong sentiments in favor of retaining and even stepping up the sanctions. Moreover, the effect of a sensation was also necessary. "By going to Beijing, we broke the ice," a WASHINGTON POST correspondent was told by a well-informed administration spokesman. "The first move has been made, and the shock it produced should guarantee a positive public response."

In Beijing B. Scowcroft met with Chinese leaders—Jiang Zemin, Li Peng, and Deng Xiaoping, who retains influence in China despite his official retirement, and also Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. The line given to the press was that he briefed the Chinese leadership on the results of the meeting on Malta between Gorbachev and Bush. However, the conversations were mainly taken up with discussing ways to normalize bilateral relations. The newspapers cited B. Scowcroft's statement at an official reception in Beijing: "We came here to give bilateral ties fresh impetus and new vigor and find areas of consensus—economic, political, and strategic." The United States is prepared to "resume important dialogue on international questions of vital interest to both countries."

"There are forces in our two societies which are endeavoring to impede our cooperation," Scowcroft said. "We must take bold steps to overcome the actions of these negative forces." The press has not cited any concrete measures to improve bilateral ties that were proposed by Scowcroft. In the opinion of leading U.S. newspapers, Beijing must make the next move. People here are waiting for the question of the fate of two Chinese dissidents—astrophysicist Fang Lizhi and his wife Li Shuxian—to be resolved. They sought refuge during the events on Tiananmen Square in the U.S. Embassy in Beijing. A humane gesture—if the Chinese authorities were to rescind the order for their arrest—could help the authors "save face," in short.

A number of Democratic congressmen in Washington have criticized Scowcroft's trip to the PRC. Thus Steven Solarz, chairman of the House of Representatives Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, described the trip as a mistake, a step taken at an "inappropriate time" under conditions when the Chinese authorities have done nothing to improve the "human rights situation in China." According to him, the incumbent administration "has gone cap in hand" to Beijing. In response to the criticism, U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker said in an interview on an ABC TV program that the U.S. Administration has not changed its negative view of the actions taken by the PRC authorities during events on Tiananmen Square. However, one must not now "aggravate the tragedy in an attempt to isolate China from the international community."

China

Falin Arrives in Beijing for 23 Dec Talks

OW2412054289 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0100 GMT 24 Dec 89

[Text] Valentin Falin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived in Beijing Saturday [23 December] to begin his 1-week visit to China. This visit comes in response to the Moscow trip made by Zhu Liang, head of the International Liaison Department under the CPC Central Committee, in September

of this year. During his visit to China, Falin and his Chinese counterpart will discuss current international problems, as well as the issue of cooperation between the CPSU and the CPC. Last May, the Soviet Union and China held a summit meeting in Beijing at which time an agreement was reached to resume contacts between the two parties.

Visit, Increased Contacts Viewed

*OW2412091589 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 1400 GMT 23 Dec 89*

[Text] On 23 December, the CPSU delegation led by Falin, head of the International Department under the CPSU Central Committee, began a visit to China. This is a return trip made by the CPSU delegation. In September 1989, a CPC delegation visited the Soviet Union for the first time following the long suspension of contacts between the two parties.

Our correspondent, (Bamuyan), in Beijing said: An agreement to resume relations between the two parties was reached at the Soviet-Chinese summit held in May this year. Since this historical summit, the cooperation between the two countries in economic, trade, scientific, and technical fields has continuously expanded. Following the May summit, the two sides have sent many delegations as well as scientists, experts, and staff members of many departments, activists in the field of culture, and members of the friendship societies of the two countries to visit each other. In September this year, the USSR new parliamentary delegation led by Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, visited China.

With regard to contacts between the Soviet Union and China, we must point out: Direct contacts between the various Soviet republics and China's various provinces and autonomous regions, the various Soviet oblasts and China's various counties, and the various cities of the two countries have continued to increase in 1989. Border trade carried out on the basis of mutual benefits has expanded rapidly. According to recent information from China's Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade, border trade contracts have played an important role in this year's bilateral trade.

What are the future prospects for all this? Not long ago, Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central committee, said: The future prospects are excellent. Both China and the Soviet Union are entering 1990 with full confidence. Both nations firmly believe that good-neighborliness and cooperation on the basis of mutual benefit are conducive to the fundamental interests of the two countries and the two peoples. In Beijing and in Moscow, both officials and ordinary people have pledged to further develop Soviet-Chinese relations.

Our correspondent says: There is no doubt that all this will be of great significance to further stabilizing the situation in the Asia-Pacific region. Since the May

summit between the leaders of the two countries, the situation in the Asia-Pacific region has become better and better.

USSR, PRC Begin To Demilitarize Borders

*OW2612120389 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast
Asia 1100 GMT 25 Dec 89*

[Commentary by station commentator Nikolayev]

[Text] The year 1989 is drawing to a close. What has happened in this year? Our station commentator Nikolayev expresses his views:

In this year, some people have had good fortunes while others have had misfortunes. This is inevitable. Yet, everyone hopes the New Year will be a better year. For me, I wish that in the New Year the Soviet Union will have closer ties with foreign friends, for example, with our Chinese friends. Can this wish be fulfilled? To a large extent, this depends on whether the Soviet Union and China can make their bilateral ties richer and more varied. I feel that this requires the joint efforts of both sides. I also feel that there is no insurmountable obstacle to this. The most important step has been taken in this regard this year. Not only did the two countries normalize their relations but their relations have entered a new stage.

I believe that the Soviet-Chinese summit was a major event this year. It has not been that long since Gorbachev visited China. However, today we can clearly notice that the normalization of relations between the two largest socialist countries has produced positive effect on world politics. We recall that not very long ago, Western countries were still playing the USSR card against China and the China card against the Soviet Union. The tense relations between Moscow and Beijing seriously aggravated the political climate in Asia and that of the entire world. Today, all this has become something of the past.

However, to put an end to what happened does not mean to forget it; it means, rather, to draw a lesson from it. The Soviet Union and China have clearly indicated that the two countries do not want their relations to return to those of the fifties. This prospect does not accord with the fact that the two countries intend to implement their own policies with complete independence. The Soviet and Chinese peoples have noted this and have expressed their approval, so have the people in the rest of the world.

From another angle, we notice that the development of the Soviet-Chinese relations has not brought adverse effect on the strategic balance of power and international relations. On the contrary, the development has further eased tensions in the Pacific-Asia region and in the world and has strengthened security. Both the Soviet Union and China believe that it is necessary to further promote this positive trend. For example, the two countries have begun the work to demilitarize their borders.

There is another point to be made. Looking to the future, we must realize that the future of the Soviet Union and China and, for that matter, the future of world socialism depend, to a large extent, on the smooth progress of the reform and social rejuvenation of the two countries.

Our two countries face many difficult problems. What happened in the past year has fully demonstrated this. It is not difficult to realize that under such circumstances, the exchange of each other's experience has become a major element in their cooperation. We are no longer trying to tell others how to live. Rather, we are trying to learn from each other, to learn from the success and failure of a neighboring country. In this sense, the drastic changes in the relations between the two countries in 1989 are extremely important contributions to the international relations.

East Europe

Brandenburg Gate 'Finally' Open to Pedestrians

LD2312061889 Moscow TASS in English 0016 GMT
23 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin December 23 TASS—By TASS correspondents Mikhail Voronenkov and Alexey Korinenko:

The Brandenburg Gates have finally opened on Friday for two pedestrian flows to cross from East to West Berlin and the other way round. The ceremony was attended by Prime Minister Hans Modrow, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union of the German Democratic Republic, GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer.

West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher arrived here to attend the ceremony, too. The mayors of the two Berlins were also in attendance.

The decision to open the crossings was made during the recent visit of Helmut Kohl to the German Democratic Republic and his talks with Modrow.

Openings were hacked in the wall on both sides of the Brandenburg Gate last night to enable the two-way flow and structures were erected to house border check-points and customs offices. Henceforth the square, that was closed to tourists for a long time as it was in the border zone, will become accessible to visitors.

Speaking at the ceremony, Prime Minister Modrow described the Brandenburg Gate as a symbol of renewal in the German Democratic Republic and the ceremony as a testimony to the resolution of the German socialist country to contribute to the construction of a common European home. "The events at this gate must never again be overclouded by military conflagration. The Brandenburg Gates must be made to serve as a connection, a gate of peace, the way its designers planned," he said.

The West German Chancellord described the opening of the crossings as a most emotional moment in his life. "We want peace and freedom, we want to contribute to ensuring peace in Europe and the world," he told the rally.

"Now, to take further steps we need patience and common sense, then we shall reach a common future".

Thousands of people assembled in the square at the Brandenburg Gates. Two of them expressed the feelings of the people in their conversation with TASS. One, 69-year-old pensioner Alfred Gysi, stressed that the event had been unthinkable a mere three months ago. I am happy to have lived to see this day and the old Berlin square 'inhabited' once again. This shows that our government is as good as its word.

Marlene, 44, said that two generations of people—her peers and their children lived in Berlin divided by the wall. Today we are happy and sad, she said. We are happy that for two months already we have been able to travel and visit our friends over there. We are sad as many of our relatives and friends did not live to see this day.

Music rang out in the square after the ceremony, bands played and thousands of East and West Berliners crossed there and back.

Reportage on Violence, Developments in Romania

CSSR's Adamec, Mohorita Statements Cited

LD2412094389 Moscow TASS in English 0735 GMT
24 Dec 89

[Text] Prague December 24 TASS—Czechoslovak Communist Party Chairman Ladislav Adamec and Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the party's Central Committee, have issued a statement which reads;

"It is with indignation and wrath that we receive reports on the trampling on the humane ideals of socialism and on terror unleashed by the Ceausescu regime against the Romanian people.

"We express full support for the just struggle by the Romanian workers and young people against the personality cult.

"The Ceausescu clique's violence against the Romanian people is a crime which has been the result of the Stalinist policy of totalitarianism which has nothing in common with socialism. This policy is aimed directly at eliminating the ideals of the communist movement.

"We bow our heads to the victims of the Romanian people that gave their lives for the revival of their society and socialism. We are calling on all district committees of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and all Communists to give material aid to the just struggle of the Romanian people", the statement says.

"It is essential together with all political forces of Czechoslovakia to alleviate the hard days and hours that the citizens of Romania are living through", the statement added.

Albania 'Respects' Changes

*LD2612004189 Moscow TASS in English 2142 GMT
25 Dec 89*

[Text] Belgrade December 26 TASS—The Yugoslavian news agency TANJUG cites the Albanian official news agency as reporting the following:

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania informed the Embassy of Romania in Tirana today that Albania respects the right of the Romanian people to independently decide their internal affairs on the way to establishing complete freedom independence and sovereignty.

According to the Albanian news agency the Romanian Embassy in Tirana had previously informed the Albanian Foreign Ministry about the developments in the country that led to the downfall of Nicolae Ceausescu and his clan and expressed support for the Council of the Front for National Salvation.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Albania noted the desire of the Albanian Government to further develop the present good relations between Albania and Romania.

Rapid, Peaceful Conclusion Sought

*AU2212150489 Paris AFP in English 1448 GMT
22 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow, Dec 22 (AFP)—Moscow hopes there will be "a peaceful settlement" to the Romanian turmoil "as soon as possible", Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfiliev said here Friday.

"We have no doubt that the Romanian people will have the wisdom, even in such dramatic circumstances, to remain calm and preserve stability," he told French radio correspondents here.

Moscow also hoped that Romania would very quickly revert to normal institutions, he said.

Moscow was mindful of the "choices, options and actions of the people involved".

"We are looking and taking note of what the Romanian people are deciding for themselves," he also said.

It would be premature to discuss who could take over from Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu or what his fate should be, he added.

Earlier, he had told Agence France-Presse it was important "to avoid loss of life" in Romania, adding that, "there is a danger of things getting out of hand even as joy is expressed".

22 Dec Events in Bucharest Noted

*LD2212160189 Moscow TASS in English 1545 GMT
22 Dec 89*

[Text] Bucharest December 22 TASS—Bucharest is in a whirl. The national television station is bustling.

Famed actors, writers, poets and representatives of the Romanian Army are making televised statements congratulating the Romanian people on their victory and calling was for order.

Looting is reported. The Romanian intelligentsia urges demonstrators not to destroy the archives of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. They say that the archives contain materials needed to indict Nicolae Ceausescu and his retinue.

High officials of the militia and state security bodies also spoke on television. They said that the militia is on the side of the people and will continue to protect public order.

To prevent misunderstanding, every militiaman will wear an arm band the colour of the national flag.

Officials of the security bodies were offered to surrender their arms and stop all activity against demonstrators.

Every few minutes, television reports are aired about the search for Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu. They abandoned their helicopter, at Titu and are trying to flee Romania by car. According to reports, they have changed cars twice.

Hundreds of thousands of people in Bucharest have turned out to demonstrate in the streets.

The biggest meetings are close to the building of central television and in Republic Square.

Industrial enterprises are idle. The first meeting of the National Salvation Committee now being formed, will be held on the premises of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party after 5 p.m. today. The committee will supervise transformations in Romania.

Premier, Government Resign

*LD2212182489 Moscow TASS in English 1757 GMT
22 Dec 89*

[Text] Bucharest December 22 TASS—A National Committee for Democracy was established in Bucharest today to prepare the country's transition to a democratic life, AGERPRES reported.

The Romanian prime minister and the whole government resigned.

The National Committee for Democracy includes military leaders who did not compromise themselves under Ceausescu, workers and students who fought to bring down the regime, and the intelligentsia.

The committee's members addressed thousands of people from the balcony of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee building. They announced the resignation of the Romanian Government, the composition of the National Committee for Democracy and measures proposed for the next period.

Troops Join People to Defend Radio, TV

*LD2212174589 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT
22 Dec 89*

[Text] Bucharest December 22 TASS—The Romanian people are building barricades on Bucharest's Nufarilor and Timis Streets, which house the Romanian radio and television headquarters. Concrete is being poured to stop the approaching tanks.

The Romanian radio just reported that troops on the side of the people had arrived at these two major centres.

Announcers are calling on the people to defend telephone exchanges at Drumul-Taberei and other parts of Bucharest and to preserve the values of the current Romanian revolution.

It also reported that the first rally devoted to the victory of the Romanian people is to be held on Bucharest's Republic Square at 17.00, local time.

TV Broadcasts 'Stopped'; Radio Appeals

*LD2212190589 Moscow TASS in English 1850 GMT
22 Dec 89*

[Text] Bucharest December 22 TASS—The Romanian radio reported that columns of armoured vehicles were fighting their way down Pitesti highway and Nufarilor Street trying to clear radio committee and television buildings from demonstrators.

The radio appealed many times to the people to protect these two centres, so vital for the new power.

Television broadcasts have stopped. Several minutes later the radio reported that some speakers on Republic Square were shouting that what had been said on radio and television during the past few hours was merely a provocation. The announcers called on the people not to believe these statements.

TASS Reports From TV Studios on Events

*LD2212201789 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1840 GMT 22 Dec 89*

["The Situation in Romanian Radio and Television: A Headquarters for the Rising is Being Created."—TASS headline]

[Excerpts] Bucharest, 22 Dec (TASS)—Tass correspondent Nikolay Morozov reports:

The studios of Romanian radio and television, which the TASS correspondent set off for immediately after the

first appeal by the insurgents to the people from this building, have turned into a genuine headquarters for the uprising.

In one of the rooms the just-created leadership committee is working out the text of an appeal to the people, envisaging the formation of a provisional government until the first free elections which it is intended to hold as soon as possible in the first half of next year. All the documents by the participants of the improvised session are being written on people's knees in one copy; they are then corrected and crossed out numerous times, and are quickly read out on television.

Public figures are constantly arriving at the studio. In one way or another they have been in opposition to the regime; S. Brukan; K. Byrledyanu; I. Illiescu; M. Dinescu; D. Kornya; and many others. In this corridor are the highest military leaders, leaders of state security, church hierarchs, and prominent people from the sphere of culture. [passage omitted]

People in the corridor are constantly excited by various reports: K. Menescu is proposed as a candidate for the presidency of the country; P. Niculescu-Mizil has been arrested by agents of the security services at work; D. Mazilu has been arrested. Detachments are being sent to guard water towers, electricity stations, and the main post office. It has been claimed that a group of armored cars, headed by security officers loyal to Ceausescu, is moving on Pitesti, where the institute of nuclear physics and a factory for producing cyanide gas are situated. It has been claimed that the water has been poisoned in Timisoara, Sibiu, and Curele. In Sibiu, where it seems fierce battles are going on between sections of the Army who have gone over to the side of the people and state security sub-units who remain loyal to Ceausescu, there is not enough ammunition. A guard has also been stationed on Ceausescu's villa on Primavera Boulevard in order to save countless works of art. A rumor is circulating that Ceausescu's government has sent special anti-terrorist detachments against Romanian radio and television. After this report was broadcast on television, people began quickly raising barricades on the streets adjacent to the building; lorries and heavy construction equipment, specially driven here, are being deployed across arterial roads.

Ceausescu Troops Rush to Capital

*LD2212193189 Moscow TASS in English 1921 GMT
22 Dec 89*

[Text] Bucharest December 22 TASS—Troops loyal to Nicolae Ceausescu rushed into Bucharest as dusk fell. Persistent fighting continues in all parts of the Romanian capital.

The troops fired machine-guns at demonstrators who had gathered at a mass rally in Bucharest. Fighting also goes on near the Otopeni International Airport.

The Bucharest television is working. The headquarters are appealing to people to defend Bucharest.

The building of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee has been partially blown up and is now on fire, the Romanian television said.

The radio and television earlier reported that Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife had been detained in Tirgoviste, but this information remains unconfirmed.

Forces 'To Liquidate' CC Members

*LD2212195889 Moscow TASS in English 1948 GMT
22 Dec 89*

[Text] Bucharest December 22 TASS—Romanian Television has just broadcast a report of the Committee for National Salvation. The Committee urges people who crowded in the square to leave it so that forces of the National Defence Ministry could destroy terrorist forces of the State Security Service operating in the building of the Central Committee.

A fierce exchange of fire continues in the city for over two hours. Search-lights are piercing the skies. There are sounds of powerful explosions. Television reported that gas communications are being exploded.

A member of the Committee for National Salvation said that plain-clothed officials of special purpose units got into the building of the Central Committee through secret underground tunnels. They have a good knowledge of the layout of the building and they intend to liquidate members of the Central Committee. Most of them remained in the building and their fate is unknown.

National Salvation Council Formed

*LD2312022389 Moscow TASS in English 0116 GMT
23 Dec 89*

[Text] Bucharest December 23 TASS—By TASS correspondents Dmitriy Dyakov, Nikolay Morozov and Vadim Malyutin:

Free Romanian Television has reported that a Council of the Committee for National Salvation has been formed. The announcement was read out by committee spokesman Ion Iliescu.

"Dear compatriots," he said. "we are going through a historic moment—the Ceausescu clan that brought the country to the edge of disaster has been removed from power.

"A new page is opening in Romania's political and economic life. At this critical moment we have decided to set up the National Salvation Committee that will lean for support on the Romanian Army and rally all healthy forces of the country, all organisations and groups that courageously rose to defend freedom and dignity during the years of totalitarian tyranny. The aim of the committee is to consolidate the Romanian People's Democracy, freedom and democracy.

"As of this moment, all structure of power of the Ceausescu clan are proclaimed disbanded, the Government, the State Council and their agencies cease to function. All power in the country is transferred to the Council of the National Salvation Committee. To it is subordinated the Supreme Military Council that will coordinate the Army's activity. All ministries and central bodies will retain their present structure and will operate normally, subordinated to the National Salvation Committee.

According to the decision taken, local councils of the National Salvation Committee will be established."

Iliescu announced the programme of the National Salvation Committee. It proclaims, among other things, the abolition of the leading role of a single political party, the establishment of a democratic pluralistic system of government and envisages the organisation of a free general election in April next year.

The programme postulates also the separation of the legislative, executive and judicial powers in the state and the election of all political leaders for one, maximum two terms in office. The council proposes that the country be henceforth called Romania.

The committee for the preparation of a new constitution begins work immediately.

The country's foreign policy will aim at developing relations of good neighbourliness, friendship and peace in the world, being a component of the process of construction of a single Europe, a common home for all the peoples of the continent.

"We shall respect Romania's international commitments, above all those relating to the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, Iliescu noted. [No closing quotation marks as received]

The provisional composition of the Council of the National Salvation Committee was announced. The list is not finalised—new members will be included as work on the formation of the council proceeds.

TV Alerts TASS to 'Critical Situation'

*LD2312013089 Moscow TASS in English 0126 GMT
23 Dec 89*

[**"Urgent—Romania: Situation is Critical"—headline**]

[Text] Bucharest December 13 TASS—The situation in the capital of Romania is changing with every passing minute. A telephone call has just come to the TASS bureau from the television centre asking to inform Moscow that they are in a critical situation.

TASS on Strength of 'Peoples Revolution'

*LD2312054989 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0505 GMT 23 Dec 89*

[Text] Bucharest, 23 December (TASS)—Blood continues to be shed in the predawn hours in the Romanian capital. Continuous bursts of submachine guns and explosions are probably causing each resident of this city to shudder. The people's revolution is less than 24 hours old. This night was its first test of strength. It has passed that test.

"Free Romanian Television" has been on the air all night. It has just broadcast an address to the people by member of the National Salvation Front Council Ion Iliescu. He called on the citizens to give active assistance to the Army and communicated the National Front Council's demand for district and local councils of the Front to be set up, and for proposals to be submitted for their representatives to be included in the composition of the National Council.

While these lines were being written the television screen went dead, for the time being we don't know why. The tension people feel is reaching the breaking point.

Commander Vlad Address to Romania

*LD2312073189 Moscow TASS in English 0709 GMT
23 Dec 89*

[Text] Bucharest December 23 TASS—By TASS correspondents Dmitriy Dyakov and Nikolay Morozov:

Romanian radio has just broadcast an address to the nation by Colonel-General Julian Vlad, commander of state security and Interior Ministry forces.

"At this historic time the Interior Ministry and all its units together with the Romanian Army are fighting shoulder to shoulder for the salvation of the nation. The Romanian people," he said to the sound of unceasing bursts of submachine-gun fire.

"The Interior Ministry has renounced elements that are loyal to the Ceausescu clan."

"Brother Romanians, let us be united on these decisive days, believe us and help us and we shall not disappoint your expectations".

Other addresses by numerous military leaders who are fighting on the side of the people also point out confidence in a triumph. They maintain that they are in control of the situation in the capital and in the country.

Romanian radio, along with reports on the situation in districts broadcasts messages of greetings from the leaders of numerous foreign countries that express deep satisfaction with the downfall of the Ceausescu regime and support for the people's power.

The situation in the city remains tense. Bursts of submachine-gun fire and powerful blasts, apparently of artillery

shells, are heard. As has been established, television announced a break until nine a.m. local time.

Palace Fired on 23 Dec

*LD2312090889 Moscow TASS in English 0859 GMT
23 Dec 89*

[Text] Bucharest December 23 TASS—By TASS correspondents Dmitriy Dyakov and Nikolay Morozov:

The TASS correspondents have just visited the Palace Square where a fierce gunbattle is under way between rebel forces and special-purpose units from among Nicolae Ceausescu's personal guards that have entrenched themselves in the State Council Palace.

The gutted bulding is still smouldering. Its right-hand wing has been destroyed, and a considerable damage has been inflicted upon all the surrounding facilities.

The square is encircled with tanks and armoured personnel carriers of the rebels who are firing on the palace. Terrorists from inside the building return the fire.

Streets adjacent to the square as well as the square outside the Central Committee building, where ambulance cars come and go, are exposed to fire.

Single shots can be heard in various places from time to time.

According to eyewitnesses, terrorists conduct aimed fire on people from rooftops of buildings and basements of some houses.

People say that many of the terrorists wearing civilian clothes and armed come into the streets and kill most active supporters of the National Salvation Front.

Cityfolk are afraid of going out of doors and are moving along the streets hugging the walls. Motor vehicles ride at high speed for fear of shooting.

Many civilians with armbands with the national flag colours are actively helping the rebels. They are bringing ammunition and hot meals to servicemen who spent the night in the square and tell them about the situation in other places of the city.

Romanian Army soldiers and civilians supporting them readily and amiably share their impressions and advise how to get to the scenes of fighting more safely and help journalists to perform their professional duties.

"Less and less terrorists remain in the palace. Their end is close." A sharpshooter who fired from under a tank, told the TASS correspondents. "We shall not leave here without doing away with them."

The "Free Romanian Television" is on the air again. Radio continuously broadcasts reports on fighting in various cities and districts of the country.

Calls are issued to the population to defend the radio and television building, which is the headquarters of the

uprising, and other important strategic facilities of the capital. Addresses where ambulance cars, medicines and food should be directed are mentioned.

It is pointed out that now that day came it will be much easier for Romanian Army and civilian units to operate. Members of the Council of the National Salvation Front say in radio and television broadcasts that the ranks of rebel forces are swelling and that they are gradually taking hold of the situation in the city.

Ministry Denies Military Aid Offer

*LD2312124689 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 0955 GMT 23 Dec 89*

[No video available]

[Text] The armored squads which set off from Ploiesti have arrived in Bucharest and they, too, have been thrown into battle. The city is rumbling, booming, Otto Oltvanyi, MTI correspondent, reports.

And now we have further news. A competent source from the Soviet Foreign Ministry, in reply to a question from MTI, has officially and firmly denied that the USSR might have promised military assistance for the Romanian insurgents.

Akhromeyev—No Knowledge of Military Aid

*AU2312141289 Paris AFP in English 1323 GMT
23 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] Budapest, Dec 23 (AFP)—[Passage omitted] In Moscow, Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, personal military adviser to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, denied any knowledge of "military aid" for Romania as promised by the Soviet embassy in Bucharest.

"Ask the diplomats. I don't know. I'm not interested," he told an AFP correspondent at parliament during a recess.

Mr. Gorbachev had earlier told parliament that Moscow was looking into sending "medical or other aid to the Romanian people".

Romania To Respect Pact Obligations

*LD2312130389 Moscow TASS in English 1245 GMT
23 Dec 89*

[Text] Bucharest December 23 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Dmitriy Dyakov, Vadim Malyutin and Nikolay Morozov:

The situation is critical in Bucharest, where fierce street battles between Army units that went over to the side of rebels and State Security troops loyal to Ceausescu, continued throughout the night. Anti-rebel forces, which tried at any price to capture vital centres in the city, forced their way into the territory of the television centre. Broadcasts, with appeals to Bucharest inhabitants to take to the streets and to help the Army, have been interrupted for some time. There are reports of fighting in Timisoara, Brasov, Sibiu and other cities.

The TASS correspondents have just visited Place Square where a fierce gunbattle is under way between rebel forces and special-purpose units from among Nicolae Ceausescu's personal guards that have entrenched themselves in the State Council Palace.

The square is encircled with tanks and armoured personal carriers of the rebels who are firing on the Palace. Terrorists, as the Security Forces loyal to the Ceausescu regime are called here, returned the fire from inside the building.

Streets adjacent to the square as well as the square outside the Central Committee building, where ambulance cars come and go, are exposed to fire.

Many civilians wearing tricolour armbands are actively helping the rebels. They are bringing ammunition and hot meals to servicemen who spent the night in the square and tell them about the situation in other places of the city.

"Less and less terrorists remain in the palace. Their end is close," a sharpshooter who fired from under a tank, told the TASS correspondents. "We shall not leave here without doing away with them."

The free Romanian television broadcast an announcement of the formation of the Council of the National Salvation Front. The announcement was read out by Ion Iliescu.

It says that Romania is going through a historic moment, a new page in the country's political and economic life is opened. The aim of the front is to assert democracy, freedom and dignity of the Romanian people. All structures of the Ceausescu clan are dissolved. The government, the State Council and its institutions ceased to exist. The entire power in the state passes to the Council of the National Salvation Front, which includes prominent opposition figures, former party and government leaders, who have been removed by Ceausescu, and the military. The Supreme Military Council which coordinates all activity of the Army will be accountable to it.

The front's programme, in particular, provides for free elections next April, elections of all political leaders for one or at most two terms, for changing the name of the country, restructuring the economy, foreign trade and education.

Romania will respect all its international obligations, primarily those concerning the Warsaw Treaty Organisation.

Romanian radio broadcast an appeal by Colonel-General Julian Vlad, commander of State Security and Interior Ministry forces.

He said that the Interior Ministry and all of its units together with the Romanian Army are fighting shoulder to shoulder for the salvation of the nation, the Romanian

people. He called on the people to help it in its struggle. The general has renounced elements that remained loyal to the Ceausescu clan.

Other addresses by numerous military leaders who are fighting on the side of the people also point out confidence in a triumph. They maintain that they are in control of the situation in the capital and in the country.

Pact Foreign Ministers Likely To Meet

AU2312164089 Paris AFP in English 1634 GMT
23 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, Dec 23 (AFP)—Foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact will probably meet in Moscow on Sunday to discuss the dramatic events in Romania, Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn said here Saturday.

"We have a working group within the Warsaw Pact which is in permanent contact," Mr. Horn said.

The Warsaw Pact consists of the Soviet Union, Romania, Hungary, East Germany, Poland, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia.

Ryzhkov—Sending Troops 'Unacceptable'

AU2312152289 Paris AFP in English 1500 GMT
22 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, Dec 23 (AFP)—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov said Saturday that Moscow should provide medical and possibly other aid to the pro-democracy insurgents in Romania, but that the "sending of troops is unacceptable".

Speaking to journalists during a parliamentary recess, Mr. Ryzhkov said: "We must not repeat past mistakes".

"We recently reassessed the events of 1968 in Czechoslovakia", when Moscow-led Warsaw Pact forces intervened to crush the "Prague Spring" reform movement in Czechoslovakia.

"Should we repeat this a few days after" our reassessment, he asked.

On December 4, at a special Warsaw Pact summit in Moscow, all five countries which intervened in Czechoslovakia in 1968—the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Poland, East Germany and Hungary—apologized for their action.

Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu, whose troops did not take part in the intervention, did not condemn it.

"We should give support to the insurgents, we should give them backing either as medical aid or perhaps under another form, but the sending of troops is unacceptable", the prime minister said.

Government Statement Backs National Front

LD2312172689 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, 23 Dec (TASS)—A statement by the Soviet Government published here today says:

Reports arriving from Romania demonstrate that the Romanian people have resolutely broken with the authoritarian regime and embarked on the path of democratic renewal in their country.

A National Salvation Front has been set up which unites society's progressive forces in its ranks. The front's council has taken upon itself complete power and has appealed to the people to support the proclaimed program of profound transformations.

The process of forming new power structures is going on in the country with the active participation of working people.

Opponents of the revolutionary changes are attempting to resist, not balking at the use of arms and not taking into account casualties among the civilian population.

Soviet people are united with the Romanian people in defending the ideals of freedom, democracy, and national dignity.

The USSR Government supports the efforts of the Council of the Front for National Salvation directed at establishing calm and order in the country. The Soviet Union is prepared to provide immediate and effective humane aid to the Romanian people and the country's new leadership to remove the consequences of the tragic events of the past days.

TASS Bucharest Office Closed

LD2312154289 Moscow TASS in English 1538 GMT
23 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest December 23 TASS—TASS correspondents in the Romania capital have just reported that following an intensification of combat operations near the TASS bureau, they have to abandon temporarily their workplaces.

USSR Buildings Damaged, Staff Hurt

LD2312171589 Moscow TASS in English 1707 GMT
23 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest December 23 TASS—TASS was told by the Soviet Embassy in Romania that property of many Soviet Institutions in Romania had been considerably damaged and there were wounded among their staff members.

23 Dec Situation in Romanian TV Studio

LD2312210789 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 23 Dec 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The attention of the whole world is now fixed upon the dramatic events in Romania. Our correspondent reports from Bucharest:

[Correspondent Sergey Zheleznyak, identified by caption] I have to admit that right up to the last minute I did not believe that I would be able to continue reporting events in Romania from here, from the Romanian television studio, since it has been under siege for about 24 hours. Even now all entrances into the building are barricaded. It is interesting that the password which got me through was the words: I'm from Soviet television.

For days now people have been and are informing the country of the course of events from here. They continued reporting even when there was fighting in the corridors and their words reached the viewers along with the sound of exploding shells and shots.

In my opinion, the situation was at its most critical at 0600-1100 and at 1400-1630 Bucharest time. Appeals were issued on television and radio to the Army, to students, workers, and school children to defend the freedom of the Romanian people on this decisive day. Gusa, head of the General Staff, who has assumed command of the Romanian Army, spoke several times on Romanian Television. He gave assurances that the Army and the people are united in the struggle against the dictatorship. The fiercest fighting was close to the television and radio, post office, and telegraph and telephone exchange buildings. It is not yet possible to determine the number of dead and wounded.

I would like to draw attention to the fact that Ceausescu's supporters, most of whom are security service staff, are being called nothing less than terrorists firing on their own people in Romania.

Soviet people resident at the Soviet trade representation situated alongside the television buildings were also in grave danger. The terrorists burst into the building and forced men, women, and children to the ground with rounds of automatic fire above their heads. However, it was not long before Army paratroopers landed on the roof of the Romanian television building and beat off the terrorists' siege. The Soviet people have been transferred to the Embassy building. One Soviet staff member has been wounded. Our residential building and the APN building, which were also fired on, have suffered serious material damage.

Now, as darkness approaches, it is assumed that the terrorists will step up their activities and attempt to seize power. [Video shows Zheleznyak on screen; truck loads of people bearing national flag; army uniforms; tanks; gathering crowds; soldiers on guard; burntout buildings; tanks moving through the streets, crowds following them; broadcasters on television]

N. Militaru Appointed Defense Minister

LD2312181989 Moscow TASS in English 1800 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest December 23 TASS—Deposed Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, his wife Elena, Ilie Ceausescu and other members of the dictator's clique have been arrested and are being held by the Army, Ion Iliescu, member of the National Salvation Front's Council, said on "Free Romanian Television."

Iliescu called on people living in houses around the television centre, the radio station and other strategic points of Bucharest to leave their apartments, as Ceausescu's personal guards were capturing apartments and opening fire from windows.

Iliescu said those houses should be left to allow the Army to use tanks and heavy machine-guns.

He also spoke about measures taken by the rebel army to prepare for the night.

Iliescu said General Nicolae Militaru was appointed defence minister.

Romanian Embassy Backs Salvation Front

LD2312203989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Correspondent A. Korotkov reports from Romanian Embassy in Moscow; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] People have been standing outside the Romanian Embassy in Moscow all day, taking turns. They are holding burning candles and homemade placards. These bear words of pain, alarm, and hope.

The TASS correspondents were the first journalists who were able to get into the grounds of the Romanian Embassy in Moscow. The embassy press attache, Cornel Gheorghias, told us that there was a meeting today in the embassy and the entire collective has unanimously adopted the following address.

The entire staff of the Romanian Embassy in the Soviet Union without exception shows full solidarity with the Council of the National Salvation Front, the new body with supreme power in Romania, and with its platform.

Embassy staff asked us to make the text of the statement public, to hand it to the mass media, and to bring it to the attention of the citizens of all countries. [Video shows people with their candles outside the embassy. A placard reads "Freedom to the Romanians"; Korotkov stands outside a large building and reads out the statement; these pictures are courtesy of TASS]

\$400 Million in Ceausescu Swiss Accounts

LD2312201989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Dec 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Free Romanian Television has reported that according to figures provided by Swiss Banks, there are \$400 million in Ceausescu's personal account, while the total amount Romania has in these banks is a mere \$70 million. On 21 December, the country's eminent lawyers formed a Democratic Committee of Lawyers of Romania. This committee has expressed its readiness to take part in drafting a new constitution for the country. Leading Romanian writers, including poetess Ana Blandiana, have also appeared on television. She described the situation as extremely dangerous. At the same time, she expressed the conviction that the people will continue the struggle until there is a complete victory over tyranny.

Free Romanian Television reports that medical aid, medical equipment, and personnel is being sent from various countries. Requests from planes to land are being made. Governments, public figures, and various organizations in many countries are expressing their solidarity with the Romanian people's struggle to overthrow the dictatorship and for freedom.

'Terrible Picture' of Timisoara

LD2312122489 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1149 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Text] Timisoara, 23 Dec (TASS)—Correspondent Anatoliy Bocharov reports:

After the command "Fire!" 45 children who had been returning home after visiting a puppet theater were left lying on the pavement. The scene of the shooting is illuminated by hundreds of candles, which have been lit in memory of the victims of the terror. "Ceausescu! You bear the guilt for our broken lives!" is written on one of the banners that have been put up in the town center, where the tragedy occurred. Many people in the town still do not know the fate of their close relatives.

Several sites where victims of the shooting at the demonstration were hastily buried by the authorities have been uncovered not far from Timisoara. They contain the unclothed bodies of men, women, and children. It is being said that some of them were thrown into the tombs injured and then had boiling water poured over them or were burned. It is a terrible picture.

23 Dec Casualties in Timisoara

LD2312200989 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Dec 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; Viktor Nogin video report from Timisoara]

[Text] Our Belgrade correspondent, Viktor Nogin, has been to the Romanian town of Timisoara. Let us look at his report:

[Begin Nogin recording] We came to Timisoara, the town where the demonstrations first started, literally a few hours after the well-known events in Bucharest. We

wanted to do this before, but Romania's borders were closed, as they were a few days ago, and it was only after news came from Bucharest that power had passed to the provisional committee that we managed to cross the Yugoslav-Romanian border and come here to Timisoara. You can see for yourselves what is happening here. [video shows aerial view of huge flag-waving and chanting crowd in square, which Nogin then passes through]

The employees of Belgrade Television and we were the first foreign journalists to reach Timisoara. Literally the whole city gathered here at the theater building, where a rally has been going on for several hours without stopping. We had to pass through several rows of cordons where we, like others, were carefully searched. A precautionary measure that is by no means superfluous, since shots are still heard here and there in the town.

When the leader of the rally announced that Soviet journalists were now filming for the "Vremya" program, which everyone in Romania knows (?something about), thousands of voices started to chant. [crowd heard chanting: perestroyka! perestroyka!]

It is hard to say who holds power here. [passage indistinct] Members of the committees are on duty in the hospital where injured demonstrators are now lying. [video shows man in hospital bed] Yes, unfortunately they did not get by without casualties. Here lie buried the bodies of the dead, of which the committee believes there are more than 3,000. [video shows bodies]

The meeting in the town continued until late at night. Throughout the day and at night, there were no large contingents. Animation and joy: Those are the words one could use to describe the atmosphere now reigning in Timisoara. [video shows enthusiastic crowds in main square, including man spitting at picture of Ceausescu; dead bodies in mass graves, candles]

I pronounced these words, and left the town in order to transmit this report to Moscow. But on the road to Belgrade [where Nogin is based] we heard a radio report that literally an hour after our departure a landing force of the Romanian security forces still loyal to Ceausescu had been dropped on Timisoara. Shots have rung out in Timisoara again. Armed clashes are continuing now as you are watching the "Vremya" program. There are dead people on the streets again, and blood is being shed once more. [video shows nighttime scenes of men in coats and helmets, buildings on fire, emergency vehicle in the street]

'Fierce Gunfire' in Bucharest 23 Dec

LD2312225389 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 2105 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Bucharest, 23 Dec (TASS)—TASS Correspondents Dmitriy Dyakov and Nikolay Morozov report: Fierce gunfire is continuing in the city. It has now become clear that the most dangerous places in the city

are the so called "Ceausescu routes," along which the ex-president's convoy would usually travel. Representatives of the patriotic forces who are on patrol on the streets said that special rooms had been fitted out in institutions, hotels, and residential buildings situated along these routes in which armed members of the "Securitates" waited in ambush.

TASS correspondents have just walked along one of these routes. We saw people running across the boulevard at a headlong pace, bent over double, while short bursts of gunfire came from the darkened windows behind them. There might be a terrorist lurking in each of the numerous darkened windows, and it is impossible to determine where the gunfire is coming from, a young woman told us, gasping for breath after her fast run. The bandits are deliberately using intimidation tactics. An intensive exchange of fire continued for several minutes between supporters of the former regime ensconced in the hotel "Lido" and men of the Romanian Army who are opposite them in the hotel "Ambassador". The bullets are whistling through the air over this "Ceausescu route" virtually incessantly.

We also tried to approach the Palace Square where bursts of gunfire were to be heard and enormous tongues of flames could be seen. However, the heat of the battles being waged in this zone was so great that people were being forced back from the square in crowds and it was impossible to get through it.

Students and young workers have taken upon themselves the checking of transport and documents. We, too, were stopped at a crossroads by such a patrol. When we remarked, half in jest, that such strong lads could be a bit closer to the hotspots, one of them flung open his arms in bitterness: "What should I go there with? This piece of wood?" Many people have told us this evening that the rebels do not have sufficient weapons.

Despite the complexity of the situation the city is being provided with all the essentials: there is a normal supply of water and electricity, many enterprises and stores are working without stoppages, fresh newspapers are being distributed from trucks and many people are carrying Christmas trees home.

Kishinev Students Condemn Repression

*LD2212171189 Kishinev Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Text] In Kishinev today, outside the building of the main bloc of Kishinev's Vladimir Ilich Lenin State University, there was a meeting of students and teachers of that higher educational establishment. It was devoted to the memory of the victims of repression in Romania. The slogans and speeches expressed sympathy to those affected, condemnation of the Romanian leadership, and a demand for its resignation.

Moldavian Authorities Voice 'Concern'

*LD2312184989 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1426 GMT 23 Dec 89*

[Text] Kishinev, 23 Dec (TASS)—The working people of Soviet Moldavia have received the news of the tragic events in Romania with a sense of profound concern and voice their protest against the violence and cruelty, says a statement from the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers of the republic, which has been adopted here.

Tanks, armored personnel carriers, helicopters, and artillery have been unleashed against civilians. There are thousands of dead and injured. The blood of innocent people continues to be shed. The Moldavian people, the document notes, expresses its solidarity with the just struggle of the fraternal Romanian people against the authoritarian regime and voices the hope that the ideals of democracy, socialism, and human rights will triumph inside the country.

The working people of Moldavia express their deep condolences to the families of the dead and injured, and also confidence that all the problems that are arising will be resolved in a spirit of peace, tolerance, and humanity.

Medical Aid Offered

*LD2312200489 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 23 Dec 89*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The USSR is offering medical help in connection with the events in Romania. So far there are no reliable figures on the number of casualties in Romania, but unfortunately there are grounds for presuming that thousands of people are already in need of urgent medical help.

Igor Nikolayevich Denisov, first Deputy Minister of Health, told an APN observer that Soviet doctors are ready to give treatment to the casualties. Conditions for giving skilled help have been created in areas bordering on Romania, such as Kishinev, Odessa, Kiev, and Lvov. At the same time, teams have been put together consisting of leading specialists in traumatology, surgery—including children's surgery—and anaesthetics, and are ready to come to give help from other towns of the country.

The USSR Ministry of Health has taken the necessary measures for operational coordination of the efforts of doctors from Moldavia and the Ukraine, and also of doctors of the USSR Ministry of Defense.

Talks have been held with Soviet border services on getting the casualties without hindrance to treatment centers in nearby settlements. Extra supplies of medicines and medical technology have been sent there; qualified doctors have been dispatched, and systems of anti-epidemic measures have been ensured.

The Health Ministry has informed the embassy of the USSR in Romania and the World Health Organization of its readiness to receive the injured.

Moldavians Organize Medical Relief

PM2312215189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[Correspondent A. Pasechnik dispatch under general heading "Regarding Events in Romania"]

[Text] Kishinev, 23 Dec—Residents of Kishinev lit hundreds of candles of mourning in the square outside the cathedral last night, in memory of the many who lost their lives during the tragic events in Romania. A rally was held there afterwards to express ardent support for the Romanian people in their just struggle against the inhuman authoritarian regime.

A republican government commission to render assistance to the fraternal Romanian people, headed by M. Platon, first deputy chairman of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) Council of Ministers, was set up today and is already at work. The measures which have been planned and are already being implemented include primarily the organization of medical assistance for the thousands of victims—the donation of blood and medicines, the setting up of special teams of physicians, and the preparation of the republic's hospitals for the expected admission of the wounded. A collection of money is under way, and a special account has been opened with the State Bank for this purpose. Collection of food supplies and clothing for immediate delivery to the victims is being organized in the republic's border regions. Growing numbers of labor collectives, organizations, and institutions are joining in the proliferating act of charity and genuine internationalism and support.

The republican radio and television today broadcast a statement by the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the republic's Council of Ministers expressing profound grief over the many lives lost in the fraternal neighboring country, condemning the cruel violent measures by the regime against the civilian population, and expressing readiness to give the Romanian people the necessary material and medical aid. These words, imbued with anguish, alarm, and sincere human sympathy are encountering ardent response among collectives in the republic's cities and villages and in people's souls.

Moldavians Give Aid, Send Cable

LD2412152189 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT
24 Dec 89

[Text] Kishinev December 24 TASS—By TASS correspondent Dmitriy Chubashenko:

Soviet Moldavia has launched a broad campaign to raise aid for Romanians fighting totalitarianism in their country.

Moldavians are bringing consumer goods and food to local councils which will later ship the aid to Romania.

The first train carrying medicines, food and clothes is prepared to leave the Ungeny rail station.

A government commission, supervising the relief effort has sent a telegram to the Romanian National Salvation Front council, saying:

"Moldavia's working people resolutely support the just cause of the Romanian people and side with their struggle against the authoritarian regime. They are prepared to extend possible medical and material help to victims.

"The first consignment of emergency aid, including medicines, consumer goods and food, has been already shipped.

"We assure you that at this difficult and crucial time in Romanian history that Moldavian people are standing shoulder to shoulder with the Romanian people in their fight for democracy, socialism and human rights."

The government commission is now actively forging business contacts with the new Romanian authorities in order to coordinate the relief effort and make it more efficient and concerted.

More on Moldavian Aid

PM2512223789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
25 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 11

[Own correspondent Eduard Kondratov dispatch under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Moldavia Ready To Help Wounded"]

[Text] Kishinev—It is perfectly natural for Moldavia to be especially acutely sympathetic toward events occurring in Romania. Very few people slept Saturday night, and people are still glued to their sets today. In Kishinev's central square the public has organized a collection of money from the population to help the victims of the Ceausescu clique's terrorists.

Yes, the main point today is not so much to express sympathy but actually to help. A government commission for the provision of help to victims in Romania, headed by M. Platon, first deputy chairman of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, is already working uninterruptedly. Moldavia is already in a position to make 3,000-3,500 hospital beds available to the wounded from the other side of the Prut River. More than 20 medical institutions in border regions, in Kagul, Beltsy, and Kishinev are also on standby. Moldavia's capital has the largest and best-equipped medical institutions—the republic hospital, the railroad hospital, three city hospitals, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs hospital, the maternity protection center, the medical services of the Ministry of Health's Fourth Administration, and first aid services.

Some 60 mobile teams are also on standby waiting for the wounded—comprising skilled traumatologists, surgeons, anesthetists, and therapists. Many of them have already crossed the border to Giurcuesti, Ungheni, and Costesti, from where the wounded will be transferred by trains and possibly by ferry across the Prut. Donors have been giving blood for 3 days now, and some of it is being processed into blood products. Medication worth R200,000 are being prepared for shipment to Romania, bought by funds from the "Farmachiya" republican economically accountable association and the Kishinev City Soviet Executive Committee.

But where did all these free hospital beds come from? Have the Romanian events had an effect on our own Soviet patients?

"No, they have not," we were told by Moldavian Minister of Health K. Draganyuk. "Our people have not suffered in any way. As always, many people were discharged before the holidays. Naturally, we immediately suspended all routine admissions, but urgent cases were of course admitted to hospital without delay. Some patients—those who are recovering, for example—have been moved to other medical institutions, where they will be looked after. Generally speaking, despite the emergency situation, the population will receive all the medical services necessary."

TASS Statement on Citizens Fate

PM2312185189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 12

["TASS Statement" on Romania]

[Text] From Bucharest comes disturbing news that armed clashes continue in some areas of the city. Groups of the enemies of the changes that are taking place in the country are attacking the Romanian radio and television building where members of the Romanian Council of National Salvation Front are. As a result of these formations' actions a residential building which houses families of employees of the Soviet trade representation is in the firing zone. Armed people have penetrated into the building and are directing intensive fire from there. Fires have broken out inside the building, and the lives of Soviet people, including women and children, are in a serious danger.

The Soviet Union cannot remain indifferent to the fate of Soviet citizens and demands that those who have unleashed the above actions, endangering the lives of the Soviet people, stop them immediately.

Soviets in Bucharest Safe

LD2412094589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0748 GMT 24 Dec 89

[Interview with Bucharest correspondent Sergey Zheleznyak by unidentified studio presenter—live]

[Text] [Presenter] Can you hear us, Sergey Nikolayevich? Sergey Nikolayevich?

[Zheleznyak] I can hear you very poorly.

[Presenter] Well, we can hear you well. So tell us what the situation is.

[Zheleznyak] As you can hear, firing is under way literally on the streets adjacent to our building and our correspondents' post. Well, as you know, with the onset of darkness yesterday it was expected that forces loyal to Ceausescu would try under the cover of darkness to take hold of power again. In order to prevent the terrorists regrouping there have been checks throughout the night on all main roads in the city. They were carried out by students. One of them was armed with a submachine-gun while the rest merely held sticks. They thoroughly searched all pedestrians and vehicles in particular. I think that this general supervision of the city did, to a certain extent, play a positive role.

Nevertheless, between approximately 2100 and 2200 Bucharest time terrorists carried out a raid on the Gara de Nord railway station.

During the night there was fighting also in other areas, too, at times even with the employment of fairly large-calibre artillery. Many buildings were damaged, especially in the central part of the city. The fact that these buildings are architectural monuments and the pride of the Romanian capital makes it even more painful. The guns were firing upon the roofs where terrorists were firmly entrenched and from where they were firing at pedestrians. Naturally, fires have been breaking out.

At 0430 there was a report that water could not be used for washing or drinking, since the water had been poisoned. People were ringing each other up and passing on this information. At 0500 fierce fighting flared up once again in many areas. At 0600 Free Bucharest Radio announced that the water had been checked and the report of the water being poisoned had not been corroborated.

The Committee of National Liberation [name as heard] is fully in control of the situation in the city, although in some places—and as you can hear, in my immediate vicinity—there is firing and there are perhaps what I might call combat actions.

Nevertheless it seems to me that the committee, the National Salvation Front, is not being sufficiently energetic. People are expecting from it more vigorous actions, more decisive actions.

I should like particularly to speak of the situation of our Soviet citizens. All of them are now safe and on the territory of the Soviet Embassy.

[Presenter] Sergey Nikolayevich, can you hear me?

[Zheleznyak] Hello, Moscow.

[Presenter] Can you hear me, Sergey Nikolayevich?

[Zheleznyak] Yes.

[Presenter] Yesterday we received a report about the arrest of the...

[Zheleznyak] I can only make out what you are saying with difficulty.

[Presenter] ...yesterday there was a report about the arrest of Ceausescu's family. What has been their further fate?

[Zheleznyak] Hello? I would also like to say the following. Since the report of the capture of Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu and their closest lieutenants, scores of people have already spoken on television and Romanian radio, who despite the complex situation in the country have come to Bucharest and mixed with the public in order to demand that the dictator and his clique be put on trial.

[Presenter] Thank you very much for your account. We must apologize to listeners for a few technical faults accompanying that account by Sergey Zhelleznyak, our correspondent in Bucharest.

Romanian Professor Asks Military Aid

PM2312224189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 24 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[APN's Bucharest correspondent Vyachesla Samoshkin report for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, datelined 23 December: "Reporting Under Fire"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Excerpts] The editorial office got in touch yesterday with APN's Bucharest correspondent Vyacheslav Samoshkin:

I am writing this report literally under fire. Automatic weapon fire alternates with salvos from the heavy machinegun of a passing armored personnel carrier. Several shells fell in the top floor of our detached house. The telex equipment installed there is covered by a thick layer of white dust and brick fragments... [passage omitted]

The office telephone rang about 1000 hours this morning. The caller introduced himself as Professor Oaldea. "I could not get through to the Soviet Embassy. Please tell Gorbachev that we are ready to accept Soviet military assistance. We need it."

It is impossible to get anywhere from the correspondent's office. We spent the whole night in the basement. We—I mean two correspondents who arrived from Bulgaria, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's and TRUD's own correspondents, and me and my family. I telephoned the embassy and was told to stay where we were. [passage omitted]

Just half an hour ago we got out of the basement again. A report came in: Following the National Salvation Front's request for assistance from the Soviet Union, the security forces requested assistance from Iran. Leaders of the uprising make television appeals to the population to be vigilant and to notify local organization of the National Salvation Front whenever these people are detected. Generally speaking, the situation in Bucharest is back to normal, with battles continuing around the main seats of resistance by the security forces to the south of the city and in other strategically important sections of the Romanian capital. There is a threat that units loyal to Ceausescu could take hostages, including Soviet citizens. [passage omitted]

Romania's Oprea Welcomes Changes

LD2412093389 Moscow TASS in English 0733 GMT
24 Dec 89

[Text] Istanbul December 24 TASS—Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister of the Romanian Government, staying in Turkey in connection with the work of the mixed Romanian-Turkish Commission for Economic Cooperation, stated on Saturday that he welcomed the processes taking place in his country, the second channel of Turkish television reported in its evening news bulletin.

Oprea also pointed out that he would immediately return to the country as soon as weather conditions would permit.

The SABAH newspaper reported in its evening edition that the Romanian ambassador visited the Turkish Foreign Ministry and handed over a note about the embassy personnel's support for the revolution in their country.

Soviet Red Cross Prepares Aid

LD2412204289 Moscow TASS in English 2011 GMT
24 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 24 TASS—The USSR Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies on Saturday prepared for dispatch a cargo of emergency aid for the citizens of Romania. It includes surgical kits, sets of bandages, sutural material and first-aid kits. The cargo will be ferried to Romania right after clarifying the possible place for the plane's landing.

The Soviet Red Cross maintains round-the-clock telex link with the International Red Cross and the national red cross societies of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Hungary to exchange information on the situation and possible actions to provide aid to the citizens of Romania who have suffered.

24 Dec Situation Updated

LD2412232189 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 24 Dec 89

[S. Zheleznyak video report from Bucharest; From the "Seven Days" newscast]

[Text] Last night was very difficult. Especially fierce fighting was under way toward the morning and first and foremost at the television center. One attack followed another. Attacks were organized on the railway station and the airports of Baneasa and Otopeni. It is supposed that certain groups of terrorists—that is what they call Ceausescu supporters here—tried to leave the country. Fighting also took place last night in the center of the town. From roofs and from the windows of buildings the terrorists aimed their fire on the streets. In several cases artillery and tank guns had to be used to destroy the enemies and consequently many of the blocks of buildings in the town are now on fire. Moreover, the best buildings and the best architectural monuments of Bucharest are suffering. [Video shows night scenes, firing at buildings, a building on fire; daytime scenes, men with guns and military clothing inside the ground floor of a building, close-up of a tank outdoors and other military vehicles]

Students and workers are patrolling the town day and night, sometimes with the militia's support. They are carrying out checks on documents and painstaking searches of cars, calculating that in this way they will be able to hinder the terrorists in restationing themselves. The town has continued to live under these conditions. The shops have been working. Incidentally, it has been announced here that exports of food products have been fully curtailed. It is warm in the blocks of apartments. In the winter time this is unusual for the people of Romania. Gas is being fed normally for the needs of the population. The situation, as the leaders of the National Salvation Front think, is gradually stabilizing. However, it remains very...[video shows front view of Hotel Dorobanti switching to views of streets in the vicinity and civilians directing passing traffic, and checking the contents of cars; one civilian approaches the camera]

The whole Army is subject to the command of the just-appointed Minister of Defense Colonel General Militaru. Appeals have been broadcast on radio and television several times calling for an end to the fratricide. I want to reassure the nearest and dearest of Soviet citizens who work here. All of them are now on the territory of our embassy in safety. [video shows Army men standing in a group next to a building, street scene showing checking of vehicles]

Christmas is getting near. It is one of the most honored and favorite holidays of the Romanian people. In general, the question of what kind of Christmas night this will be can be answered tomorrow. [video shows street scenes, market scene]

Salvation Front Members Named

PM2512222589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
25 Dec 89 Morning Edition pp 1, 12

[Correspondent Viktor Volodin Bucharest dispatch under the general headline: "Having Cast off Despotism..."]

[Text] Free Romanian television confirmed Sunday morning that "Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu and their entire clique have been arrested." They are in custody at a military base. The country, having cast off the Ceausescu clan's despotism, is jubilant.

The National Salvation Front Council, which headed the popular movement at the most critical moment, declared the creation of new democratic structures in the country. What sort of people have joined the council? Ion Iliescu, a former minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania; economist Silviu Brucan, one of those who sent the dictator the desperately bold "letter from the six"; Mircea Dinescu, the best-known poet of modern Romania; Laszlo Tokes, priest and human rights champion from Timisoara, representative of the Hungarian ethnic minority; Doina Cernea, his fellow activist in the struggle for human rights; as well as students, workers, servicemen...

Sunday morning was in no way comparable to Saturday night, when the storm of gunfire raged through the Romanian capital. But gunshots did break the tense silence. The building of the SCINTEIA printing house was under fire. Loudspeakers were used to ask the terrorists to lay down their arms.

Who are the ones making such desperate attempts to oppose the people? The militia? The state security? Spokesmen of the commands of these forces noted that, from the very first day, they had moved under the control of the Army, which had taken the people's side. The only forces left are special commando detachments, crack pretorian guards, the dictator's personal guards. They continue to fight fanatically. I. Iliescu, speaking on television, warned that these people are donning civilian clothes and putting tricolor bands on their arms. They provoke conflicts between the Army and the militia. They break into apartments and fire into the streets from windows. Professionally-schooled killers, they can shoot from any position...

Unfortunately, the Soviet colony has not avoided casualties. There are three persons injured in the Soviet collectives.

Romanian television, whose programs were previously cut down to 3 hours a day, has never before worked under such pressure. Not all reports carried in the heat of the first few days have been confirmed. For example, the news that water supplies in Bucharest had been poisoned was refuted. Free Romanian television has reported the release of all political prisoners. It emphasizes the need for decisive measures to demolish the nests of fanatics. Now the television reports that power in Olt Judet has been peacefully handed over to the people. There was an announcement about the need for a cease-fire throughout the country's territory. A stream of humanitarian aid is flowing into Romania from many states.

Ceausescu Compared to Stalin, Brezhnev

*LD2412181289 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 24 Dec 89*

[From the "Seven Days" newscast]

[Text] Let us consider information on the true face of the former leader of a friendly socialist state as another victory of glasnost. For the first time it has been written—in a newspaper, in Russian—that Ceausescu was a dictator, that his wife Elena sent murderers throughout the world to punish dissidents who had fled the country, and that 324 of their relatives had been put in Romania's party and state apparatus leadership for which the \$400 million that the communist Nicolae Ceausescu holds in Swiss banks should be more than enough, if he should ever share it, of course.

Actually, there is now someone with whom we can compare our former leaders, from the times of the repressions and the times of stagnation. In terms of brutality, I think Comrade Ceausescu still doesn't quite reach Comrade Stalin's level, but in terms of the number of relatives he fixed up, he could teach Leonid Ilyich [Brezhnev] a thing or two.

Where will they put the hundreds of thousands of his portraits now? However, to date it isn't entirely clear how this will end; what if they put them on the walls again and carry them through the squares, washed of the blood of shot demonstrators? Are there not plenty of those who used to live in comfort, who just this week would not have given up without a fight their privileges to rule on behalf of the working class? Or those who take tyranny for democracy, and absolutism for Romanian socialism? And not only in the district of Oit, where Ceausescu was born and which nurtured him, but throughout the country.

God grant courage and strength to the people, whom the dictator considered cowed. Clearly, for Romania the hour has struck when it has become simply intolerable to know and think one thing and say and do another.

Ministry on Solidarity With Romania

*LD2512175189 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1643 GMT 25 Dec 89*

["USSR Foreign Ministry Statement on Romania"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 25 Dec (TASS)—We are transmitting the text of the statement.

The course of events in friendly Romania is being followed very closely in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government maintains constant contact and is consulting with the governments of the Warsaw Pact member states and is exchanging information with them. Both we and our allies unequivocally support the revolutionary renewal, the just struggle of the Romanian people, and the efforts of the National Salvation Front

Council, which has proclaimed a program of profound democratic reforms. We discussed with our allies the advisability of holding a consultative meeting at the level of ministers of foreign affairs.

According to the common conviction of the allied states, the Romanian people has taken into its hands the country's fate and, despite the fierce resistance of the forces of totalitarianism, it will be able to gain a victory in the struggle for freedom and democracy. It is precisely by taking this into account that there exists an understanding that it is desirable to avoid any collective actions which could remind one of the practices of the past.

At the same time the Soviet Government is also exchanging views with other states, which also sympathize with the just causes of the Romanian people. The Soviet Union supports the efforts of the international public to give humanitarian assistance to Romania.

At this time solidarity with Romania is the moral duty of the entire world community.

Recognizing Romania's National Salvation Front Council, the USSR government is maintaining constant contact with it through the Soviet Embassy in Bucharest, including on matters of providing the most necessary assistance. Taking this into account we are determining the nature and scope of said aid. At present, Soviet state bodies and public organizations are taking measures to organize the delivery of such assistance. In particular, cargos of medicines, food, and other necessities have already been dispatched or are ready for dispatch.

We have confirmed to the Front Council that all obligations regarding Soviet deliveries will be strictly fulfilled and additional requests by the Romanian side will be examined as a matter of priority.

As has been stated by the supreme body of the Soviet Union—the USSR Congress of People's Deputies—and by the head of our state, M.S. Gorbachev, we admire the Romanian people's heroism and are profoundly convinced of its ability to break the resistance, and firmly proceed from the irreversibility of the process of democratic renewal which has been started.

The main thing for us in our approach is the fact that events taking place are made by the choice of the Romanian people's will.

'Virtual Recognition' of Front Noted

*LD2512181389 Moscow TASS in English 1804 GMT
25 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow December 25 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Aboimov assessed the statement of the Soviet Foreign Ministry in connection with events in Romania as virtual recognition of the Council of the Romanian Front for National Salvation.

Addressing a briefing here today, Aboimov read out the text of the document which, specifically, says:

"Recognising the Council of Romania's Front for National Salvation, the Soviet Government is constantly in contact with it through the Soviet Embassy in Bucharest."

"If there is a need of any formal act of recognition, there will be no difficulty for us. We proceed from the view that we have virtually recognized the Council of the Front for National Salvation", he said.

Answering questions from reporters, Aboimov said that at a meeting with U.S. Ambassador Jack Matlock last Sunday, there was an exchange of information and comparison of assessments of the developments in Romania.

Regarding the fact that some leading Western countries have a favourable attitude to the possibility of Soviet military aid to the new Romanian leadership, the Soviet deputy foreign minister said that the question of military interference or any interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state is an exceptional question.

"The Soviet Union has proclaimed new principles of interstate relations, which precludes any interference in internal affairs of sovereign states, be it allies or any other countries", he said. "The Soviet Union has not only proclaimed but is firmly adhering to these principles".

Aboimov also said that the question of military interference has not been considered by the Warsaw Treaty member countries. "Only the question of consultations at the level of foreign ministers has been discussed", he said. "But in view of specific situation in Romania it was recognized that there is yet no need for this."

Asked about the nature of requests of the Council of the Front for National Salvation to the Soviet Union, the deputy foreign minister said the new Romanian leadership declared that it needs political support above all. Aboimov also confirmed that the Soviet Union is giving humanitarian and medical assistance to Romania.

As regards the evacuation of Soviet citizens, he said that there is no question of large-scale evacuation of Soviet officials from Romania. Though in view of the situation in that country, members of the families of officials of Soviet institutions are being evacuated.

Romanian Diplomats Support Front

LD2512172189 Moscow TASS in English 1702 GMT
25 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 25 TASS—Romanian Ambassador to the USSR Ion Bucur proclaimed his complete support for the Council of the Romanian Front for National Salvation.

In an interview to Video-TASS he said that the embassy's officials "stated their full support for the council and its programme presented by Ion Iliescu".

The ambassador said that the question of military aid to Romania by Warsaw Treaty countries has not been raised. He expressed gratitude to Soviet people for humanitarian aid.

Regarding the first steps of the new Romanian leadership, Bucur said that the Council of the Front for National Salvation is now engaged in the effort toward the normalisation of the situation all over the country.

"Only after that will the Council of the Front be able to start implementing its platform", the Romanian ambassador said.

Z. Ceausescu Arrested; Front Groups Spread

LD2512113789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1000 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] last night passed relatively quietly in Bucharest. As morning drew near, however, shelling of the Television and Radio building was resumed from the houses surrounding it where the terrorists are dug in. The main headquarters of the revolution is under the protection of the patriotic guard, which consists of volunteers from residents as well as of units of the Romanian Army. They still have not managed to suppress firing by the bandits. It is being asserted that precisely in this district of Bucharest there is an extensive network of underground tunnels which were dug in good time, the plan of which is well known to the terrorists. The situation in the capital and throughout the country, moreover, is gradually getting back to normal. Radio and television are regularly broadcasting information on the situation in other Romanian towns, where local committees of the National Salvation Front are being set up. Measures are being taken to resume the operation of enterprises and institutions, as well as the supply to the population of water, electricity, and foodstuffs.

A report was shown on television on the arrest of Zoia Ceausescu, the daughter of the dictator's family. During the search carried out in her apartment, works of art and gold of enormous value and approximately U.S. \$100,000 were discovered.

Yesterday evening, in spite of the shots that resounded in many places in the city, many Romanian families celebrated Christmas with a festive meal, the table decorated with a Christmas tree. Free Romanian television broadcast the traditional Romanian kolyadas [House-To-House carol singing] which television viewers have not seen for many years now.

Today, a new Romanian newspaper, ADVERUL, meaning Truth, is on sale in the streets which is being published by the editorial collective of what was formerly SCINTEIA.

Democratic Committee on Timisoara

*LD2512161589 Moscow TASS in English 1544 GMT
25 Dec 89*

[Text] Timisoara December 25 TASS—By special TASS Correspondent Anatoliy Bocharov:

The situation in this city in western Romania, which was swept by an uprising against the Ceausescu regime, is gradually normalising, although it still remains quite tense and contradictory.

The situation is virtually controlled by the Democratic Committee which acts in coordination with Army units.

"The committee has recognized the Front for National Salvation formed in Bucharest as the interim supreme power in Romania", said Andrian Misaris, a member of the committee.

"Regrettably, we have neither time nor opportunity to conduct any political negotiations with the centre. We are busy searching for the optimum solution to the priority task—to normalise life in the city", he said.

Missaris said the committee is for free democratic elections, for the development of political pluralism including the introduction of a multi-party system. But the priority task at present is to create conditions for normal life of the population, to supply it with food and provide the necessary medical aid, he said.

The central square of the city is sealed off by troops and tanks.

The Democratic Committee is housed in the building of the Opera Theatre in the square. Street traffic is restricted. There are check-points for pedestrians and cars spaced every 50-100 metres. Cars are rare. The check-points are manned by volunteers from "civilian defence".

Green light is given only to ambulances and Army trucks and armoured carriers on the way toward localities from which sounds of shots come.

Army units continue operations to mop up terrorists, which is how staffers of the former security service and Interior Ministry bodies who remained loyal to the overthrown regime are described.

They are striving to flee the city and give armed resistance. Firing becomes more intensive with the onset of darkness.

"Representatives of the former authorities who were brutally suppressing manifestations of the people are now desperately trying to save their skin", said Oprea Sorin, a member of the Democratic Committee. "They try to find safe havens, to destroy archives, are covering their tracks", he said.

This young worker, a mechanic, is responsible for ensuring security and maintaining order in the city. He said that there are civilian casualties from bullets of terrorists.

Forty-five people were rushed to a hospital in the past day. Two of them died of wounds. There are wounded among foreign journalists who had arrived in Timisoara.

Efforts are made to bring the city back to normal life. Many enterprises are working. Urban transport functions, although with intermissions. Taxi cabs can be seen in the streets.

Shops are closed and food for the population is sold from trucks. For the first time over many years there is white bread on sale. People of the city say that until now, only rye bread was available to them.

Unrationed sale of meat is planned to be started in a few days.

People are hurrying home, carrying Christmas trees. Despite a tense situation in the city they are smiling and happily greeting one another.

Engineer Mihai Patap told TASS that the events of importance to Romania's further development have taken place.

"Our people has earlier been as if in a state of lethargy imposed on it by the Ceausescu dictatorial regime", he said.

"When I met foreigners I felt ashamed to admit to being a Romanian. We were afraid to be outspoken with our compatriots, afraid to sing songs—so cruel was the security regime which infiltrated informers in every section of society", he said.

"But we are not going to draw blood in vengeance. Criminals from among officials of the former regime should face trial. Romania is on the threshold of a difficult period. All of us must show a sense of responsibility for the country's destiny," he said.

"Romania should advance along socialist road, but not the kind of socialism that was imposed by the overthrown regime. It must be renewed, democratic socialism. We need profound radical transformations, similar to perestroika in the Soviet Union, to reforms in other socialist countries," he said.

25 Dec Situation in Timisoara

*LD2512203789 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 25 Dec 89*

["Special" correspondent V. Nogin reports from Timisoara; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Getting there wasn't easy. Virtually all along the 100-km route our car, in spite of the improvised identification markings, was stopped literally every minute. We constantly heard the word terrorists, equally from

the military and civilian patrols. Indeed, both in the suburbs and in the city center things are not yet completely peaceful. [video shows a military roadblock; a car with TV SSSR written in the dust on its side; civilians coming up to check the car occupants' papers; military patrol in a field; soldier with a cup at a barrier]

Only recently in this very square tens of thousands of Timisoarans were celebrating the victory of the new power. But regretfully not everything turned out to be as simple as one might hope. Last night, under the cover of darkness, secret police agents who remain faithful to Ceausescu attempted to capture this city theater building which now houses the headquarters of the local city committee. [video shows pigeons on a littered square, two tanks guarding a building, reporter to camera]

One of the leaders of the committee outlined for us the situation that prevails in the city now. Former members of the Ceausescu security forces are still continuing to resist. Shots are fired from rooftops, cars, and basements. But the outcome has already been decided. The power in the city, where the popular movement against the Ceausescu regime began, is being firmly held by the provisional committee with indisputable support from the Army. [Video shows reporter interviewing a helmeted civilian with an arm band; youth with an assault rifle; soldiers unloading a casualty from a vehicle; a woman crying; street scene with an armored personnel carrier and a tank; two soldiers with an anti-tank grenade launcher behind a tree; a group of soldiers with vehicles]

An Army armored personnel carrier is immediately sent to the location of erupting fire fights. But this time they did not let us go there. It is for your own safety, they explained to us and added that over the last few hours three journalists had been injured. [video shows youths directing an armored personnel carrier; patrol stopping the camera car as it attempts to follow]

Nonetheless, the situation in the city is gradually normalizing. Only the tanks in the streets and squares still remind us that the tension has not yet abated. But the people and the Army are ready to cut short any attempts to put things back on the old track. By now the Timisoarans will not let their victory be taken from them. [video shows civilian patrol frisking passers-by; tanks in a square; loaves of bread on tank casing; a man with an armband drinking from a cup atop a tank]

Vremya on 25 Dec Bucharest Events

*LD2512203389 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 25 Dec 89*

[From the "Vremya" newscast, S. Zheleznyak Video Report from Bucharest on 25 December—recorded]

[Text] It was difficult to recognize many streets and squares in Bucharest today. The fighting which has been going on here since the night of 22 December caused, in my view, more damage to the city than the battles of World War II.

The more or less serious fighting today occurred only in the morning. No organized resistance from the center has been sensed. By all accounts, the groups of Ceausescu supporters who tried to lose themselves among the population remain isolated, but they have scarcely abandoned their terrorist plans. Rather the contrary, they have gone into hiding so they can then strike when all is quiet. That is why there are patrols all over the city, but in these checks one can already sense a greater sense of organization.

The Council of the National Salvation Front has appealed to the population, demanding that they give up the weapons which were handed out to defend the city from the terrorists.

Of transportation services, the metro and the trams are running. Supplies are reaching the shops. Hundreds of people can be seen today near the (?Mordon) hospital. People are looking for their missing relatives and friends. In the areas of the fighting, where the freedom fighters died, passers-by place candles alongside Christmas trees. By peasant tradition, they leave food and money.

The Council's Front, which runs the country at the moment, has announced its platform but has not yet come out verbally with any serious political statements. It is believed that they will be made in the near future.

I would very much like to point out the role of the mass media in bringing together all progressive forces, and, of course, first and foremost radio and television. It was not for nothing that Ceausescu's supporters spent so much effort on disrupting broadcasting at least for a moment, or for a period of time. New papers have come out today in a new format and with new contents. Here is one of them: ROMANIA LIBERA [FREE ROMANIA] number three—make a note of that—and this paper, ADEVARUL [TRUTH], has been reestablished, this is its first issue, previously it had been closed down by Ceausescu. I should say that all newspapers were given out to passers-by free-of-charge.

[Video shows truck with flagwaving occupants passing through city center, bodies piled into back of another truck, other victims lying in seat of car and on street, occupant of a car marked "press, TV" talking to man, people being searched and questioned, man carrying Christmas tree, people lighting candles by trees; Zheleznyak in studio to camera, holding out copies of local newspapers]

TASS on Normalization in Bucharest

*LD2512193189 Moscow TASS in English 1914 GMT
25 Dec 89*

[Text] Bucharest December 25 TASS—The siege of the Bucharest television studio, the primary organizational centre of the popular uprising against the Ceausescu clique, by armed forces loyal to the fallen regime has gone on for four days.

Crowds of people can be seen standing at other strategic points—radio centre in Nuferilor Street, the Central Post Office and the Palace of the Republic where terrorist groups are entrenched.

In other parts of the capital, the peace was broken only by single shots from time to time today. Inspection of all cars and suspicious passers-by is carried out by militiamen and members of the Patriotic Guard.

Numerous rallies are held in the city. Speakers call for securing the gains of the revolution eradicated vestiges of Ceausescu clan terrorist gangs and rebuff foreign intervention in Romanian developments [sentence as received]. Numerous slogans and appeals appear in shop windows. Trucks circulate in the city to distribute fresh issues of newspapers, including ADAVARUL AND TINERETUL LIBER.

Reports are pouring into the editorial offices of newspapers and the AGERPRES news agency on the normalisation of the situation in the country. Uninterrupted work has been secured at a number of enterprises vitally important for the country, the provision of electricity and food to the population is adjusted and regular reports of the state of portable water are released.

Many squares in the capital are decorated with Christmas trees on this, the first day of Christmas holidays. Candles can be seen burning to commemorate those who fell in the unrest. Romanian and television [as received] have transmitted the Christmas service from the patriarchy in Bucharest and traditional Christmas carols.

Otopeni Airport Resumes Operation

LD2512204589 Moscow TASS in English 2022 GMT
25 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest December 25 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vadim Malyutin:

Bucharest's international airport Otopeni had resumed full operations by noon today. At the approaches to and all round it fierce battles had been fought for a few days involving security forces and insurgent forces.

For the duration of hostilities Bucharest was cut off from the rest of the world and the supplies of medication and other humanitarian aid. The evacuation of dependents of embassy staffs, including the Soviet Embassy was hampered.

A few aircraft have been received here, bringing first medical aid and essentials from Sweden, France and some other countries.

Cars, travelling along the 15 kilometer-long way from Bucharest to the airport, have to stop at several checkpoints along the way. Cars are searched, papers checked and personal search is performed in some cases. Next to the checkpoints, anti-tank guns and armoured vehicles

can be seen on the road and tanks are positioned at the nearer approaches to the airport.

Along the highway burned lorries and cars, overturned buses and broken electric posts can be seen. At one of the checkpoints its commander, a young lieutenant, told TASS that a battle had been waged here for literally every meter-long stretch of the road. Some people were wounded, some killed. Dry blood and scattered cartridge cases on the road surface confirmed his words.

The last checkpoint at the entrance to Otopeni. After a thorough inspection a warning issued "The speed limit is 5 kilometers on airport territory. Pull the glass down. Listen carefully and immediately obey orders you hear." In front of the airport building cars are stopped and the riders are told to get out. The last hundred meters to the entrance lead across the open space closely watched by sharpshooters and automatic gun men entrenched around. At the door people have to pass through the last checkpoint and search to get inside.

An Army captain told TASS about the sharpshooters and some other "surprises" that are there in store for the terrorists who kept Bucharest in suspension these past three days. The Army captain is responsible for safety on the ground floor of the airport building.

"It was quite a task," he said, "but we accomplished it. At the present the situation is fully under control."

However the captain did not exclude possible new attempts at provocative actions or direct assaults against this strategic point in the Romanian capital.

Romanian TV on Ceausescu's Execution

LD2512220189 Moscow TASS in English 2121 GMT
25 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest December 25 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vadim Malyutin:

An extraordinary military tribunal held a trial of Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu, Free Romanian Television announced here today.

The following charges were brought against the accused:

1. Genocide, in which more than 60,000 people died.
2. The undermining of the state power by organising armed actions against the people and the state.
3. The destruction of public property by destroying and damaging buildings, by explosions in cities, and so on.
4. The undermining of the national economy.
5. The attempt to flee the country and the depositing of more than one billion dollars in foreign banks.

For these grave crimes against the Romanian people and Romania the accused Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu were sentenced to death and their property was confiscated.

The sentence is definitive and has been carried out, television said.

New Leaders Elected

*LD2612104889 Moscow TASS in English 1019 GMT
26 Dec 89*

[Text] Bucharest December 26 TASS—Ion Iliescu, one of the leaders of the pro-democratic struggle in Romania, was elected chairman of the Romanian National Salvation Front Council in a vote on Tuesday, Free Romanian Radio said.

The council is now Romania's highest political body.

Human rights activist Dimitru Mazilu was elected the council's deputy chairman.

Petre Roman became prime minister and General Nicolae Militaru was appointed defence minister.

Latin America & Caribbean

Komplektov, Nicaragua's Ortega Meet 21 Dec

*LD2312155889 Moscow TASS in English 1516 GMT
23 Dec 89*

["Joint Soviet-Nicaraguan Statement for Press"—TASS headline]

[Text] Managua December 23 TASS—On December 21 Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega received visiting Soviet special envoy, Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Komplektov.

During the discussion they focused on the current situation in Central America and around Nicaragua that has deteriorated following the U.S. armed invasion of Panama, which is a blatant violation of the fundamental principles of the UN charter and norms of interstate relations.

In the conditions that have arisen, the Soviet Union gives resolute support to the Nicaraguan Government which seeks to establish a lasting peace in its country and to promote stability in the region, which is matched by its concrete steps in the field of domestic and foreign policy.

It was pointed out that the Soviet Union takes note of Nicaraguan efforts aimed at holding open and fair elections, regards the presence of international observers as a convincing proof of the Nicaraguan Government's desire to hold such elections and calls on the U.S. Government not to hamper the election process and respect the results of the vote.

The Soviet side reaffirmed its support for the agreements reached by five Central American presidents, including the recent agreement in San Jose, which constitute an important contribution to the peace cause in Central America.

The two men noted the importance of the fulfilment of their obligations by all sides and stressed the important role which the United Nations and its secretary-general play in the Central American settlement.

The Soviet side confirmed the firm support which is being rendered to Nicaragua in various fields. Both sides stressed the need to enhance efficiency and, in accordance with the new factors, reorient cooperation towards the goals of socio-economic development.

The Nicaraguan side stressed the important positive significance for the world peace of consistent and resourceful policy of the Soviet Union.

The conversation was marked by an atmosphere of understanding and constructive approach to the questions that were discussed.

Combat Vehicles Sent to U.S. Managua Embassy

*LD2412094889 Moscow TASS in English 0903 GMT
24 Dec 89*

[Text] Managua December 24 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Pshenichnikov:

Several combat vehicles of the Sandinist People's Army were again brought to the U.S. Embassy in Managua as the Nicaraguan Government's action in response to the tightening of the blockade of the Nicaraguan Embassy in Panama by U.S. Army units.

The cordone around the U.S. Embassy also includes armed servicemen of one of infantry units of the Nicaraguan Army.

The access to the embassy gate is cut off. However, Nicaraguan authorities do not prevent U.S. diplomatic cars from coming and going.

The Nicaraguan Government has stated that it will act with regard to the U.S. Embassy in Managua in the same way as American soldiers do with regard to the Nicaraguan Embassy in Panama, which was cordoned off during the U.S. armed invasion of Panama.

The Americans withdrew part of combat vehicles from the Nicaraguan Embassy late Thursday [21 December] night. Nicaraguan tanks were also withdrawn from the U.S. Embassy Friday morning.

However, U.S. troops again brought armoured personnel carriers as well as soldiers who, according to reports reaching here, act brazenly and provocatively, which threatens to result in an armed incident, to the Nicaraguan Embassy Friday night.

Meanwhile there were no signs of tension near the U.S. Embassy building in Managua on Saturday.

U.S. Troops Surround Cuban Embassy in Panama

*LD2512220889 Moscow TASS in English 2109 GMT
25 Dec 89*

[Text] Havana December 25 TASS—By TASS correspondent Sergey Sereda:

U.S. troops that have been surrounding the Cuban Embassy in Panama City from: past Saturday now enhanced their activity, which indicates that a raid on the Cuban diplomatic mission might be prepared.

According to reports coming here, a light tank has been placed at the main entrance to the embassy. U.S. servicemen encircling the building wear gas-masks.

Monday afternoon more troops were brought to the Cuban Embassy. Videocameras installed around the embassy for constant observation have been dismantled.

Luis Delfin, minister-councillor of the Cuban Embassy in Panama, got into contact with an officer commanding forces around the Cuban mission.

Major Exon said he has been given the order to capture Panamanian military and high officials, and that he will execute the order.

The officer said he is uninformed of the United States stance with regard to the Cuban Embassy in Panama but that he is obliged to fulfil the order of the United States Southern Command.

As it was already reported, the Cuban Foreign Ministry lodged a protest with the United States on Sunday over the provocation of U.S. military with regard to the residence of the Cuban ambassador in Panama.

Cuban First Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcon told an extraordinary news conference that the information came from Panama about units of U.S. assault troops surrounding the Cuban ambassador's residence in Panama City.

The Cuban Foreign Ministry stated that the families of Cuban diplomats, including 29 women and 19 children, are staying in the residence.

Moscow Media View U.S. Intervention in Panama

Mayorov on Moscow International

*LD2012131189 Moscow World Service in English
1210 GMT 20 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] [Announcer] We start off with the events in Panama last night where American troops attacked the building of the General Staff of the National Defense Forces of Panama in order to seize the commander-in-chief, General Manuel Antonio Noriega. Armed clashes between American and Panamanian troops started in various points of the Panama City. Even before the military operation was over, a White House spokesman said Washington had recognized the new

leader of Panama, President Guillermo Endara who is the head of the Panamanian opposition. Comment by Mikhail Mayorov:

What has happened was not unexpected but people hoped it would not happen. Aggression was in the air from the very moment when a dramatic confrontation began between the United States Administration and General Manuel Antonio Noriega who, before these events began, became the head of the Panamanian Government.

Full scale combat operations erupted early on Wednesday but the war between the largest Western power and the small Latin American country with a population of just over 2 million has been going on for months. There were an economic blockade, rough diplomatic pressure, and muscle flexing.

Morals and politics have been put apart in this case. Let Washington claim General Noriega was involved in the drugs business, let it recall the fact that Panama annulled the returns of the elections held last May 7th.

If we call a spade a spade, not a single episode of the Panamanian life can justify the current brazen act of intervention by the United States.

The men who took the decision in the White House were thinking in categories that seemed to have gone for good. Any observer who has even scarce knowledge of the history of the United States' southern neighbors has all of a sudden seen a plot in the classical (?retro) style: The American GIs on foreign soil, Washington justifies the invasion by a need to protect the lives of the U.S. citizens there. Isn't this similar to the events in Grenada in 1983.

As it has been announced, the aim of the action is to restore the democratic process in Panama. So, another case of democracy brought on American bayonets.

The year 1989 has had every chance to go down in history as a crucial one in affirming new political thinking in world affairs. What has happened in Panama on that day in December shortly before Christmas indicates that some policy makers do use now and then stereotypes of the past. [passage omitted]

TASS Comment

*LD2212163689 Moscow TASS in English 1448 GMT
22 Dec 89*

["U.S. Intervention in Panama—TASS Comment"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow December 22 TASS—By TASS analyst Gennadiy Petrov:

The battle between David and Goliath is continuing in Panama. Contrary to the expectations of Pentagon strategists, this invasion was not an easy GI "walk-over" like Grenada in 1983. According to U.S. Secretary of

Defence Richard Cheney, American troops will remain in Panama as long as they are needed to enforce "law and order".

In other words, the U.S. military are getting involved in the longest and most disgraceful war since the Vietnamese conflict.

Guerrilla units are being formed in Panama to resist the aggressor. As shown by the experience of El Salvador rebels, guerrillas are capable of carrying on hostilities not only in jungles. Many American soldiers, Panamanian patriots and civilians will die in the course of this "indefinitely" long intervention.

American-style democracy is being imposed upon Panama by army helicopters, tanks and armoured carriers. Does this correspond to the spirit of our times when principles of new thinking, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states and of settling conflicts by peaceful means are gaining ground in world politics? President Bush's administration is not yet prepared to answer this question.

It's not easy to answer this question, just as many others, for that matter. How must we understand the behaviour of U.S. Rangers who are hunting for General Noriega, commander-in-chief of the National Defence Forces, while setting free criminals who are now looting and murdering people.

The White House has found itself isolated again. The dramatic developments in Panama alarm world public opinion. The bloody U.S. action is condemned practically the world over. This is borne out not only by pronouncements of most Latin American leaders, but also by the statement of the non-aligned movement's Coordination Bureau which condemned the U.S. intervention as a violation of unaligned Panama's territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence.

West European governments have not remained indifferent to the events in Central America. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has supported Washington's action. Her stand is not surprising in the light of the priceless help London got from the United States during the British military action on the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands in 1982.

Washington's return to "gunboat diplomacy" threatens to thwart the difficult process of settling the Central American conflict by peaceful means. The U.S. military intervention cannot be whitewashed by any arguments. No country has the right to play the role of world policeman, no matter what interests—strategic, economic or political—are threatened by developments in this or that sovereign state.

The Christmas Eve roar of artillery in Panama sounds the alarm not only for Panamanian and American mothers, but for all those who, despite the numerous still existing "hot spots" on our long-suffering planet, still

believe that the last decade of the twentieth century and the forthcoming age will be a period of peace and cooperation.

TRUD 22 Dec

PM2212135189 Moscow TRUD in Russian
22 Dec 89 p 3

[Own correspondent V. Sisnev dispatch: "United States: Coffins Are Arriving"]

[Text] Washington, 21 Dec—The Panama invasion was code-named, note, Operation "Just Cause." I heard from T. Foley, speaker of the House of Representatives, himself that congressional leaders were only informed of this after the event. President Bush, he said, informed him but did not ask for advice. Moreover, he added straightaway that he supported the president and now is not the time to hold lengthy discussions. Military operations are under way and it is necessary to act on the basis of the prevailing situation.

Thus, the preparation of Operation "Just Cause" was carefully kept secret. Was this not because this military expedition was too reminiscent of the times of "gunboat diplomacy," to which the United States resorted on several occasions, including in Panama, and which could have provoked a negative reaction from many congressmen had they known about it in advance?

It is significant that all the people behind the invasion are carefully avoiding broaching the international legal aspect of this action, preferring simply to explain its military objectives. It sounds very strange but it looks as though the main aim was to capture General Noriega and hand him over to the U.S. Federal Court on a charge of organizing drug smuggling to the United States. And, incidentally, to establish "democratic rule" in Panama.

All this is presented as if it is a most normal phenomenon: The leader of a sovereign state refuses to appear before U.S. judges, his general policy does not suit the U.S. Administration, and so an attack and massacre in his own home are organized against him with the help of 25,000 crack soldiers and officers. But President Bush added in his address that there was a threat to the security of U.S. citizens in the Panama Canal zone. And concern for his fellow citizens is his duty as President.

I heard the clearest commentary on this reasoning from Representative Ted Weiss. He said, in particular, that the administration should have thought about the country's national prestige in Latin America, where the term "Yankee imperialism" is still current, and that there is not enough convincing data to prove that Americans' lives in Panama were really in danger. But the most important thing, in his opinion, is that it is simply absurd to justify the operation by the need to bring Noriega to justice.

C. Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, refrained from broad making generalizations but also expressed profound doubts as to whether the threat

to the life and property of U.S. citizens in Panama could be taken for granted to such a degree that it justified intervention. Incidentally, most observers, who point out that not only was the attack carried out at night but also by surprise without a formal declaration of war, acknowledge willy-nilly that this constituted intervention rather than anything else. That was how Grenada was occupied in the past.

At a news briefing at the Pentagon General T. Kelly, Joint Chiefs of Staff spokesman, voiced regret that it proved impossible to catch Noriega himself; he disappeared (a price of \$1 million was later put on his head). The general also indicated that the expeditionary corps will remain in Panama as long as it takes to restore a "normal situation."

Assessing the events, S. Nunn, one of the most prestigious senators and chairman of the Armed Services Committee, noted that the time for the invasion was extremely ill-chosen. The process of democratization is proceeding rapidly in Europe, the international situation inspires unprecedented hope—and the United States descends on a small neighboring country with military might.

Violation of another country's sovereignty, treacherous nocturnal attacks, and bombardment of peaceful cities have never increased their perpetrators' prestige. But the intention to "save the life of Americans" has become the opposite: Zinc coffins have once again, as during the Vietnam war years, begun to arrive in the United States on military planes. Marine Garri Ayzek [name as transliterated] was the first to be killed. How many Americans and Panamanians will follow him before Washington considers its "mission" accomplished.

TASS Dispatch

LD2312050189 Moscow TASS in English 0407 GMT
23 Dec 89

["Situation in Panama Unpredictable"—TASS headline]

[Text] Panama City December 23 TASS—By TASS correspondent Eldar Abdullayev:

The U.S. Southern Command deployed on Panamanian territory has appealed to President George Bush requesting his "go-ahead" to another 10 days of U.S. troops activity in Panama. The command pointed to the need to suppress vestiges of resistance, strengthen democracy in the country, ensure the safety of American and Panamanian citizens, guarantee the immunity of the Panama Canal.

In Panamanian Chiriqui Province, commander of the 5th military zone Colonel Del Cid of the National Defence Forces decided to suspend hostilities against U.S. troops and retreat into the mountains to meet the request from the church and avoid the destruction of the City of David by clashes and bombings.

Further developments in Panama are unpredictable. In spite of the intense activity of U.S. intelligence, Americans have failed so far to capture General Manuel Antonio Noriega. The Southern Command television programme keeps reminding viewers "remember, you can earn a million in one minute if you indicate where Noriega is located".

Panama's "new government" headed by U.S. backed President Guillermo Endara has described U.S. aggressor troops "an allied army called upon to liberate the country, help revive democracy and ensure the security of the Panama Canal".

Around Fort-Amador, where the Southern Command headquarters is situated, intense shooting is going on. Units of the national defence forces are bombarding the headquarters with mortars. U.S. tanks and artillery are being concentrated there, helicopters are hovering overhead.

Many wounded people arrive in hospitals from the area, most of them civilians. On Thursday many Panamanians moved here in hope there would be no hostilities in the area.

After units of the national defence forces launched an attack against the Southern Command headquarters, U.S. troops arrested more than 2,000 people outside the Panamanian capital in Balboa, Chorillo, Arraijan and Curundu. They entered every house to drive all men and even adolescents out. Escorted by armed soldiers they were dispatched into the city, where they were taken to camps in U.S. air bases fenced in with a barbed wire. Panamanians were taken to camps through streets where clashes were ranging. According to eye witnesses, U.S. guards sometimes hid behind their prisoners. Many arrested Panamanians were killed or wounded.

It became known here that reports of 1,400 Panamanian servicemen taken prisoner were at variance with fact. Most of the people arrested by Americans are civilians, mostly office workers.

One among them is chairman of the Panamanian journalist trade union Baltazar Aspirua, another chairman of the country's biggest sectoral trade union Hector Aleman. Both are members of the Revolutionary Democratic Party. Cleric Tejada, a close friend of Omar Torrijos, Panama's national hero, and director of the symphony orchestra, prominent public figure Jorge Ledezma were also detained. Journalists and high-ranking officials of ministries, establishments and the commission for the Panama Canal are among those arrested. The wives of those arrested appealed to the international community to demand that the United States put an immediate end to criminal intervention, release the detainees, resettle peaceful civilians from areas where hostilities are raging and where they are in fact U.S. hostages.

The situation is critical in clinics and hospitals: there is a dramatic shortage of medication, food and staff while

the flow of wounded people is swelling ever thicker. The situation is the hardest at the Santo Tomas clinic blocked by U.S. soldiers on guard at the United States Embassy nearby.

IZVESTIYA 23 Dec

PM2212222789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 11

[Vitaliy Kobyshev "Political Observer's Opinion":
"United States-Panama: What Now?"]

[Text] At a time when the winds of concord had begun to blow over the world and people had gotten the feeling that suspicion and hostility in relations between peoples and confrontation were retreating, the United States committed an act of gross armed aggression against a sovereign state—Panama.

Panama is a small country, but passing through it is a big canal, which the United States laid its hands on back in 1903. The canal is of strategic significance to the United States. And that explains everything—the fact that the United States has dotted Panamanian soil with military bases, where it keeps large military contingents permanently stationed; the fact that it pursues a policy of force there, which has surpassed probably everything that the other states of Central America and the Caribbean have endured during their history; and its unparalleled political and diplomatic cynicism in all deeds concerning the canalside country.

But what "diplomacy" is there there? In one of the central squares in the Panamanian capital, a newcomer is struck by a massive concrete slab on which are etched the proud words of Simon Bolivar: "Without democracy there is not full freedom." The flags of Panama and the United States flutter alongside on tall poles. It was here, 50 meters from the slab and the flags, that in January 1964 U.S. soldiers fired on Panamanian students, workers, and schoolchildren who were demanding their country's independence and protesting at being considered natives of the "canal zone." Just one episode. How many there have been!

An abrupt change occurred in the life of Panama in 1968. The post of commander in chief of the national guard, the local armed forces, was taken by General Omar Torrijos, an ardent patriot and outstanding politician who enjoyed tremendous prestige both inside and outside Latin America. Panama began to find statehood. People in the world began talking about the country and about what the United States was doing in it. The Panamanians' struggle to achieve independence and to restore sovereignty over the canal zone received broad international support.

In 1977, under pressure from world public opinion, above all in Latin America, Washington was forced to sign a treaty on the full transfer of ownership of the canal to Panama by the year 2000. The treaty was signed by

U.S. President Carter and Gen Torrijos (a few years later he was a victim of a "mysterious" air crash).

At that time, in 1977, Washington must have thought that the year 2000 was still a long way off, that everything would somehow turn out all right by then, and the Panamanians would change their minds. They stood their ground, however: A treaty is a treaty. Meanwhile, the year 2000 was approaching inexorably. Washington was clearly growing nervous. In the mid-eighties Panama began to be subjected to heavy "pressure," ranging from attempts to bring it to its knees by means of an economic blockade to frantic anti-Panamanian propaganda. General Noriega, the country's leader and commander in chief of its armed forces, was subjected to real persecution: He was accused of having ties with the drugs business and a demand was made that he, "like his friends, the Colombian cocaine barons," be put on trial in Washington.

Let us not probe the essence of the charges laid against Noriega, because that is not the point. War was declared not on the general but on all Panamanians who dared to proclaim themselves the canal's masters and to demand the elimination of the U.S. bases.

The situation was becoming inflamed and it was clear that Washington might take extreme measures at any moment. And yet, the massive U.S. armed attack on the tiny country on the night of 19-20 December astounded everyone. It was perceived as an act of aggression casting doubt on the Washington leaders' recent peace-loving statements. The U.S. aggression was also perceived with particular pain, perhaps, because just over 2 weeks ago, during the Malta meeting, it was clearly stated that actions of this kind must be banished from the life of mankind forever.

In Latin America the latest U.S. aggression (Grenada lives on in everyone's memory) has caused both shock and amazement: Consequently, Washington is still using the old methods. So who will be next—Nicaragua, El Salvador, or Cuba perhaps? But what will the United States achieve with its bombing raids? Bomb blasts and mass killings will hardly help to settle the socioeconomic and political problems which have swamped the states of Central America and also practically all of Latin America.

Indeed, what will change as a result of the United States putting a more complaisant general than Noriega in power in Panama? It will, all the same, not change the Panamanians who will never now abandon their claims to being the masters of their own country, including the canal which belongs to it.

I grant that from a military viewpoint operation "Let's get Panama!" was carefully prepared. Politically, however, it was not backed up in any way. Washington placed itself in a difficult position. It was not for nothing that at Wednesday's emergency session of the OAS Permanent Council the U.S. aggression against Panama

was stigmatized by the representatives of not only Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and Venezuela but also—just think!—Chile.

Levchenko on Moscow International

*PY2612025289 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America
2300 GMT 25 Dec 89*

I would like to point out first that the armed U.S. action in Panama was carefully masterminded and planned for in several maneuvers and operations.

The invasion of Panama was considered so important from the military viewpoint that the U.S. Air Force used its top secret F-117A Stealth [preceding word in English] fighter-bomber, the only radar-invisible plane, for the first time. The bomber participated in the raids on Panama before the arrival of U.S. troops on 17 December.

The Pentagon thus used the invasion into Panama, which was a low-intensity war operation, to test modern combat techniques. As is known, no moral considerations were taken into account for the raids. The main thing for the Pentagon is that the Stealth passed a good test of combat.

However, no one—not the military department or the U.S. Administration—seems to have considered the fact that this test caused civilian casualties and set neighborhoods on fire.

As if it were a mockery of common sense, Washington christened the invasion as the just cause. This action, however, has nothing to do with justice or with international law. The invasion is not in line with the new political mentality that is gaining ground, which grants each people the right to self-determination and rejects all sorts of intervention in the domestic affairs of sovereign nations, no matter by whom or under what pretext.

U.S. Reactions to Panama 'Invasion' Viewed

*PM2212121589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Dec 89 Second Edition p 7*

[Own correspondent V. Sukhoy dispatch under general heading: "U.S. Aggression Continues"]

[Text] New York, 21 Dec—Speaking at the beginning of the week to journalists from four news agencies, U.S. President G. Bush pointed out that the abortive attempt to remove General Manuel Antonio Noriega from power in Panama had been his administration's greatest failure

in its first year. However, many observers today believe that the U.S. President's greatest failure occurred on the night of 19-20 December when U.S. troops invaded Panama.

The U.S. mass media are on the whole presenting the U.S. Government's actions in a positive light. The invasion is assessed as the "right step in the right direction." ABC-TV conducted a telephone poll among its viewers and announced the following results: 80 percent of those polled supported U.S. armed action in Panama, 13 percent condemn it, while 7 percent abstained from any assessments. A similar poll conducted by CNN produced the following results: 91 percent "for" and 9 percent "against."

Representatives of most Latin American countries have condemned the U.S. incursion into Panama and described it as an "act of aggression." An emergency UN Security Council session has been held. A.M. Belonogov, the USSR's permanent representative to the United Nations, said that the Soviet Union is deeply concerned by the U.S. actions since they were carried out in violation of international law and the UN Charter. Nicaragua's representative urged the international community to sharply condemn the aggressive U.S. act and adopt a corresponding decision.

The nonaligned countries' Coordinating Bureau absolutely condemned the U.S. act of aggression against Panama.

Retired Colonel C. Beckwith, former commander of the Pentagon's special "Delta" subunit, said the following in an interview with CNN-TV: "We must not pay any attention to other countries' reaction. The main thing is that the U.S. troops' actions are fully supported by our compatriots."

What do ordinary Americans in fact think? Here are some answers given by passersby to whom I spoke on the streets of New York.

Tom Craig, student: "Of course, the United States must maintain its prestige in Latin America. However, actions of this kind only help lose any respect and prestige."

William Lowell, teacher: "I am not convinced that this is a 'quick successful operation.' In my opinion, we will get stuck in Panama for a minimum of several months."

Steve Yarnou [name as transliterated], scientific worker: "'Gunboat diplomacy' again? I do not believe it will win us any laurels. Moreover, I am afraid that such 'actions' on the part of the President may damage the current state of U.S.-Soviet relations."

Congress of People's Deputies

Gorbachev Briefs Congress on Romanian Events

Proposes To Send Message to Romania

LD2212234189 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2010 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Remarks by Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, at the 22 December session of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] Comrades, on the situation in Romania. Lieutenant General Kitsak, commander of the Bucharest military garrison, has appeared on Romanian television. He said that all servicemen of the capital's garrison should support the new political orientation in Romania. All subunits located in the city must show firm opposition to those who are trying to turn events back. He appealed to all Romanian Army commanders and officers to support the people's aspiration to freedom in all the districts and towns of the country. Ushe, head of the general staff, spoke. He announced that the Army is with the people. Bucharest radio has just announced that Ceausescu has been arrested. [stormy applause breaks out in the hall] The address by a spokesman of the people's masses on television and radio is continuing. Radio Bucharest has reported that Romania's borders, closed on the order of Ceausescu after the beginning of disturbances in the country, have been opened again.

I am putting forward the proposal to send this brief message to the Romanian people: At this crucial moment for the fate of Romania, the Second USSR Congress of People's Deputies announces its resolute support for the just cause of the Romanian people. [applause] We assure the citizens of Romania of our traditional feelings of friendship and goodneighborliness, and confirm our genuine striving for close cooperation in the interests of socialism and peace. [applause]

Says 'Situation Remains Tense'

PM2412182189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
25 December 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Text] At 1600 hours [local time] the evening session of the 11th day of proceedings of the Second USSR Congress of People's Deputies began at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. At the start of the session, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev informed the participants in the Congress of the situation in Romania. He said, in part:

[Gorbachev] The situation remains tense. There was a moment when there were appeals for help from the Committee of National Salvation in Bucharest, in connection with the fact that a number of subunits of troops came out against the people. Nevertheless, the situation is now becoming less acute, only certain flashpoints remain, in certain places. The chief of the General Staff stated confidently that the whole situation is under control. The Army, the majority of it, and the people, are

united, and the functioning of radio and television has been restored; it is continuing, and this provisional Committee of Salvation sits in that building. They know about the message we sent, and for their part they are expressing a desire to cooperate. They hope for our support and assistance. Our government, along with public organizations and the USSR Ministry of Health, are now deciding on the immediate assistance that is needed to help the wounded in terms of both medicine and experts. Our Red Cross is in contact with the International Red Cross, and is acting with it. It is also in contact with the relevant organizations in Bulgaria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and France.

The first aircraft have already arrived in Bucharest carrying medical supplies and emergency assistance goods, but they are for the present blockaded at Bucharest Airport. However, the blockade will be lifted in connection with the fact that the situation is all the same being more and more normalized.

An armed group broke into the residential block of our trade mission and was firing from there. It was as though it was from our building. The inhabitants, women, and children were under threat, but it appears that the situation is now easing. A fire broke out in this block. One of our citizens was wounded. We have issued a statement in this connection.

The whereabouts of Ceausescu have not yet been established. At least that is so according to the latest information. There was information that his brother, the chief of the Army's Main Political Directorate, had committed suicide, but a second report said that he is alive and has been arrested.

That is how events have been developing, but, nevertheless, it seems that the situation peaked and a breakthrough is in progress, but naturally once one has exchanges of fire there are casualties.

We have now agreed to appeal to the Warsaw Pact states, to enter into contact, in order to coordinate these actions for the purpose of rendering support to the people of Romania, and so as to discuss a number of other measures which will be implemented. An operations group has been set up at the governmental level, which is following all these events.

The leaders of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic have asked for permission to leave for the republic since there is great concern there, as there is of course in all the republics, but even more so in their republic. We consider this right and have met their request.

Well, comrades, that is how things stand at present.

Notes Romanian Army 'In Control'

LD2412145989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1200 GMT 24 Dec 89

[Excerpt of speech by President Mikhail Gorbachev at the Second Congress of People's Deputies at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow on 24 December—recorded]

[Text] Comrades, the events in Romania. As of 0200 Moscow time, firing continued in Bucharest. The road to the airport was blocked in places and artillery fire could be heard from the Soviet Embassy. It was reported that the terrorists had switched to urban guerilla tactics. They are still hiding in the Palace of the Republic and occupying several houses around the television building. The group of ten men that was blocking the railway station yesterday continues resistance from inside the station and has not yet been ousted by Army units. The National Salvation Front considers that foreign help is needed to replenish ammunition supplies. Nonetheless, the chief of the General Staff of the Romanian Armed Forces, Gusa, stated that the Army was in control and needed no help. Those were the radio and television reports, and the official statement by the chief. In general, in the opinion of our comrades there, the situation is developing in favor of the people and the Salvation Committee. There is no official confirmation of the arrest of Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu. Ceausescu's arrested son, Nicu, has been shown on television. Pockets of resistance remain. We are providing humanitarian aid at government level and through public bodies. The embassy is maintaining contact with the provisional Salvation Committee.

Congress Adopts Constitutional Compliance Law

LD2312100389 Moscow TASS in English 0929 GMT
23 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 23 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies today adopted a law of the USSR on constitutional compliance.

The law was endorsed by a majority of votes through a roll-call vote.

The document was most keenly debated at the Congress. A number of deputies from the Baltic republics came out against adopting such a law and against creating a committee of constitutional compliance, which, they argued, could become an "instrument for recarving" of republican constitutions on the plea of bringing them into line with the all-union fundamental law.

Their opponents, including other representatives of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, supported the idea of establishing such a committee as an important instrument for the building of a law-governed state and the defence of human rights, particularly the rights of ethnic minorities.

A compromise was reached due to the introduction of two amendments. Firstly, it was decided to put the law on constitutional compliance into effect from January 1, 1990, with the exception of provisions concerning supervision over the correspondence of the constitution and laws of the USSR to those of the union republics.

Those provisions will be put into effect simultaneously with the Soviet Constitution's revised section dealing with the national state structure of the USSR.

In other words, provisions about the committee's supervision over the legislation of the union republics will not take effect until the nature of relationships between the union and the union republics is decided upon.

At the same time the following provision was introduced to the law: A conclusion, drawn by the committee and "stating that any normative legal act or its individual provisions violate the basic human rights and freedoms sealed in the Soviet Constitution and the international treaties ratified by the USSR, entails the invalidation of the act or its individual provisions from the moment the committee draws its conclusion."

Sixteen hundred and thirty-nine deputies voted for the adoption of the law, 137 voted against it, and 103 abstained.

Congress Approves Resolution on Tbilisi

LD2412203189 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1745 GMT 24 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, 24 Dec (TASS)—Here follows the text of the resolution by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies on the report of the commission, set up by the USSR People's Deputies First Congress, for investigating the 9 April 1989 events in Tbilisi:

Having heard the conclusions of the commission for investigating the events that took place in the city of Tbilisi on 9 April, 1989, the USSR People's Deputies Congress notes that the tragedy connected with the death of innocent people reflected the inability of the republic's former leadership, under conditions of a serious aggravation of the sociopolitical situation in the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, to relieve the prevailing situation through political means, as well as serious miscalculations and errors committed at every level of all-union and republican leadership in making and implementing the decision about putting an end to the unauthorized rally in the square outside the government building. The congress draws attention to the absence of clear legislation regulating the procedure and practice for using the armed forces to resolve internal conflicts.

The USSR Congress of People's Deputies resolves:

1. To take cognizance of the conclusion of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies commission for investigating the events which took place in Tbilisi on 9 April 1989.

2. To condemn the use of force against the participants in the 9 April 1989 demonstration in Tbilisi.

3. To instruct the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to dispatch the proposals of the commission for investigating the events which took place in Tbilisi on 9 April 1989 for the consideration and decision of the appropriate bodies, and to ensure control [kontrol] over their execution.

To prepare the text of the report on the results of the investigation into the Tbilisi events for the press, taking account of the discussion which has taken place.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.
The Kremlin, Moscow.
24 December 1989.

Gorbachev Comments on April Violence in Tbilisi

LD2412113889 Moscow TASS in English 1117 GMT
24 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 24 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies today heard a report by the Commission for Investigation of the Events in Tbilisi, the capital of Soviet Georgia, on the night of April 8-9, 1989, when an unsanctioned meeting was dispersed by means of military force.

Then Aleksandr Katusev, chief military prosecutor of the USSR, took the floor.

The versions presented by the commission and the Prosecutor's Office diverged in many respects. Moreover, some remarks by the chief military prosecutor were regarded as insulting by deputies from Georgia.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev addressed the deputies with the following remarks in this connection:

"The events in Tbilisi are our common anguish. We take to heart the tragedy of the events and express sympathy to the Georgian people in connection with what happened there and entailed an unjustified loss of life."

The major distinguishing feature of the Soviet Union is that a multitude of peoples have been living here for centuries, he emphasised. "We may hope that success is sure to attend us in all affairs if we are committed to our choice, to friendship and cooperation among all the peoples of our country".

The congress passed a resolution condemning the use of violence against the demonstrators in Tbilisi.

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet was instructed to refer the commission's proposals to appropriate bodies for consideration and to ensure control over their implementation.

Congress Adopts Resolution on 1939 Baltics Pact

LD2412122189 Moscow TASS in English 1200 GMT
24 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 24 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The second congress of USSR People's Deputies today passed a resolution on the political and legal assessment of the 1939 Soviet-German non-aggression treaty, also known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact.

On Saturday the resolution did not receive a required majority of votes (1,052 voted for it, whereas the needed majority should be at least 1,122).

Critics of the suggested document called for cautious assessments of the Soviet-German treaty's secret protocol dated August 23, 1939, since its originals have not been found either in the Soviet Union, the Federal Republic of Germany, or any other country.

Aleksandr Yakovlev, chairman of the Congress Commission for the Political and Legal Assessment of the Treaty, in his remarks at today's session adduced convincing arguments proving the existence of the secret protocol.

He also suggested that a number of more precise definitions and amendments taking into account deputies' opinions expressed at the Congress be introduced to the resolution.

During a roll-call vote the resolution was carried by 1,432 votes, 252 voted against and 264 deputies abstained.

The document points out in particular that "the contents of the treaty were not at variance with the norms of international law and the countries' treaty practice, accepted for this kind of settlements."

At the same time the Congress stated that the secret protocol of August 23, 1939, and other secret protocols signed with Germany in 1939-1940 "were a departure from the Leninist point of view, the delimitation of "spheres of interests" of the Soviet Union and Germany in them "ran counter to the sovereignty and independence of a number of third countries".

The congress condemned the fact of signing the "secret additional protocol" of August 23, 1939, and other secret accords with Germany and recognised them as "legally untenable and invalid from the moment they were signed".

"The protocols did not provide a new legal basis for the Soviet Union's relationships with third countries but were used by Stalin and his entourage for delivering ultimatums and for putting pressure on other countries in breach of legal obligations to them," the resolution says.

The congress stated that the talks with Germany on secret protocols were conducted by Stalin and Molotov secretly from the Soviet people, the party and state power bodies.

The protocols were withheld from the ratification procedure. So, the decision to sign them "did not reflect the will of the Soviet people who bear no responsibility for the collusion".

"The Congress of USSR People's Deputies proceeds from the premise that coming to realise the complex and contradictory past is part of the process of perestroika which is to ensure an opportunity for every people in the Soviet Union for a free and equal development in conditions of integrated and interdependent world and growing mutual understanding," the resolution emphasises.

Congress Condemns Sending Troops to Afghanistan

LD2412175189 Moscow TASS in English 1715 GMT
24 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 24 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The 2nd Congress of People's Deputies declared on the final day of its work that the decision to dispatch Soviet troops to Afghanistan in December 1979 should be condemned morally and politically.

Lawmakers made this decision after hearing a report by Aleksandr Dzasokhov, acting chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet committee.

In compliance with an instruction by the First Congress, this parliamentary body studied materials concerning the dispatch of troops to Afghanistan and drafted proposals on the political assessment of this move.

The extreme ideologisation of Soviet foreign policy and strong political confrontation in the world at that time influenced the decision-making process in December 1979, Dzasokhov noted. However, all these circumstances "cannot justify the decision to dispatch troops".

The International Affairs Committee stated that the decision was made by a limited number of people in violation of the USSR Constitution under which such questions are a prerogative of the supreme organs of state authority.

The USSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium did not examine the question on sending troops to Afghanistan.

Dzasokhov cited the names of those who made the decision to send troops to Afghanistan. They are Leonid Brezhnev, the then general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, chairman of the USSR Defence Council and supreme commander-in-chief of the USSR Armed Forces, the then Defence

Minister Dmitriy Ustinov, State Security Committee Chairman Yuriy Andropov and Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko.

The speaker noted at the same time that this political assessment does not cast aspersions on Soviet officers and men who honestly fulfilled their duty. Deputies honoured Soviet soldiers who fell in Afghanistan, with a minute of silence.

Legislators who took the floor, emphasised the need to draft measures for social rehabilitation of soldiers who fought in Afghanistan and to increase state aid to them.

Deputy Aleksandr Yemelyanenko suggested that a "commemoration book" listing all 14,143 soldiers who were killed, died of wounds and missing in action during the war in Afghanistan be published in a large edition.

The congress instructed the Constitutional Commission to take into account, while drafting a new USSR Constitution, a proposal on specification of the main decision-making principles about the use of armed forces.

The inner parliament was instructed to examine the question on setting up a commission on servicemen who fought in Afghanistan, and the government—to draft a state programme aimed at resolving questions concerning the every-day life and job placement of former soldiers and other persons who served in the contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, as well as of the families of fallen soldiers.

Nishanov Reads Declaration on Transport Blockade

LD2412234789 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1521 GMT 24 Dec 89

[Remarks by Rafik Nishanov, chairman of USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities, at the 24 December session of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrade People's Deputies. I have in my hand a very thick file. It is a file filled with signatures of USSR people's deputies. Almost 500 people have signed here—representatives of republics, krais, oblasts, autonomous formations, and deputies elected from public organizations. All of them propose the adoption of a brief declaration, the text of which I would like to read to you:

A declaration of the Second USSR Congress of the People's Deputies on the impermissibility of a blockade of highways and railways and the erecting of any obstacles for the free movement of citizens and goods within the Soviet Union's borders.

Recognizing international documents on human rights, and highly appraising the freedom of all citizens and their right to safe and obstacle-free passage throughout the country's territory on all means of transport; recognizing the need for the efficient operation of the rail, road, air, river, and maritime transport systems for the

normal functioning of the integrated national economic complex; recognizing the right only of official authority to control the correctness of the passage of citizens and the transportation of goods; recognizing the inadmissibility of the arbitrary seizure by whomever of the means of transport and goods, and of the destruction of these as well as of rolling stock, of the transport routes, and rail terminals, aerodromes, moorings and ports; recognizing the importance of intercourse among the country's inhabitants, the development of tourism, transportation and transport highways for friendship among the peoples and the consolidation of our country as a single multinational state, the Second USSR Congress of People's Deputies resolutely condemns the blocking of transport communications in any form, including the erection of artificial obstacles, gun attacks, the creation of hazardous conditions for passengers, the infringement of their human worth—goods and baggage searches, the checking of documents, the erection of barriers, the occupation by citizens of thoroughfares, and the installation of various posts at the borders of the republics, regions, and other administrative and territorial formations, unsanctioned by the official authorities.

For this reason, the congress instructs the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the USSR Procuracy to elaborate the necessary legal norms and to adopt effective measures to ensure the obstacles-free and safe passage of citizens on all means of transport throughout the country's territory, and the timely and intact delivery of goods. People's Deputies of the USSR. [applause]

Primakov Reports to Congress on 'Privileges'

LD2412142189 Moscow TASS in English 1405 GMT
24 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 24 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

On the final day of its work the 2nd Congress of People's Deputies heard information by the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Privileges which are enjoyed by some groups of Soviet citizens.

A report on this question was delivered by Yegveniy Primakov, commission head and chairman of the Council of the Union (one of the two chambers of the inner Soviet parliament).

It will be remembered that many deputies favoured a review of the present system of privileges in the country at the First Congress of People's Deputies last summer. This position reflects a strong demand in Soviet society for ensuring social equality to a greater extent. Hence a strong negative attitude to medical services of "the elite" at special polyclinics and health-building centres, etc.

Primakov noted that people had especially negative sentiments about a department at the USSR Ministry of

Public Health which provided medical services and holiday-making facilities for high-ranking officials and their families.

At the commission's suggestion, the government decided to eliminate this department by January 1, 1990. Most polyclinics and health-building centres of the department are being transferred for treatment of ordinary people.

The number of people having the right to state-owned country houses will be drastically cut, as will the number of cars in personal use of high-ranking officials. According to Primakov, about 10 billion roubles are annually paid out for the upkeep of these cars.

The Congress took into consideration the commission's information.

2d Congress Ends, Gorbachev Addresses Deputies

PM2412215589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 December 89 Second Edition p 1

[Speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at closing session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses—live]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades!

"The work of our congress has come to an end. What we have managed to achieve during these 12 days in December which were packed to the limit, will remain the topic of much talk and argument both in our own country and abroad. Nonetheless, I think that we are already, right now, entitled to draw some conclusions.

First of all, the second Congress of USSR People's Deputies, continuing and developing the line of the first congress, has reaffirmed the course toward perestroika, the radical reconstruction of our whole social structure on the basis of the preservation and enrichment of socialist values. Briefly speaking then, we are for democratic, humane socialism, absorbing all Soviet experience and at the same time relying on all the progressive achievements of modern civilization.

One more, it seems to me, fundamental conclusion from the work of the congress. This is the demand to progress more rapidly and resolutely along the path of reforms in the economy and politics, in the spiritual sphere, in the construction of a law-based state and the development of our federation. This was perhaps the center of gravity of all the discussion which developed at the congress. This is not an argument about whether or not it is necessary to carry out revolutionary reforms. Society has expressed a definite view on this. This is in essence an argument about whether we need to proceed rashly, by the method by the method of some kind of [sudden] leaps, or to measure each step against the country's actual potential and the mood of the people's masses dominant in society.

I think that on this very basis, lances were broken around the program proposed by the government. A section of the deputies perceived it as insufficiently revolutionary, almost as directed toward putting the brakes on perestroika. This point of view was argued and rejected in the course of the work of the congress. We agreed that urgent, in a certain sense extraordinary, measures on stabilizing the economy are simply vitally necessary for us. It is necessary, in the very short term, to cope with the lack of goods, suspend the fall of the purchasing power of the ruble, and curb speculation. Every person should in the very near future feel that a change for the better is taking shape. The needle of the barometer of the economic situation is beginning to move, albeit slowly, away from the dangerous, crisis marker.

The government directive on gradual progress to a regulated market, based on the free choice of economic partners, a flexible mechanism of price formation, the harmonizing of the actions of branches of industry and regions, and the coordination of all-union and local socioeconomic tasks has also been supported.

The government set up by the USSR Supreme Soviet only three months ago has now received a mandate of trust at the congress. But, one may say, on certain conditions. The main one is to ensure a breakthrough in the consumer market in the very near future.

The deputies have made numerous valuable and businesslike remarks about this which must be considered thoroughly and which must be taken into account in the practical activity to implement the program supported by the congress.

Having basically supported this program, the Congress at the same time instructed the Supreme Soviet to speed up the adoption of laws designed to transform our society's entire economic base—on land, on ownership, on a unified taxation system, on local self-management and local economic management. Frankly speaking, this is a difficult task. It will be necessary to generalize the results of the nationwide discussion, to think out all the details, so that there is no scope whatever for a differing interpretation of these very important issues, in the correct solutions of which we are all interested.

But one can say that we have assumed the obligation to adopt the laws in February-March. The Supreme Soviet, its committees and commissions, will have to do quite a lot of work in order to fulfill this instruction of the congress.

Another thing, comrades. Here at the congress, and at the party Central Committee meeting with representatives of the agrarian sector, I felt they have gained the impression that the central bodies and society as a whole are lacking in understanding of the prime importance of agriculture. Today, again, I was approached by comrades who expressed their anxiety which has not been dispelled.

I think that we must, however, tell the comrades that they should give up all of their doubts and worries about this. The food question, the situation in the countryside, the needs of our peasantry and rural inhabitants—these are now the main concerns of all of us, comrades. In this sphere there is a range of problems [applause], above all, above all land, forms of ownership, and economic management, the provision of resources, supplying rural inhabitants with social amenities. We must give rural inhabitants the opportunity to decide for themselves how they wish to run agriculture. The mistakes of the past, when throughout the decades since collectivization the peasantry had the ways of doing things imposed upon them, should not be repeated. Therefore, while supporting the opinions and utterances of many deputies who are speaking in favor of new forms, in favor of progressive forms of running things on land, at the same time I cannot support them in the fact that they are returning in essence to the same ways of achieving this goal.

Let us not push them into new forms, as they were pushed into collectivization in the past. This cannot be allowed to happen. Ultimately, we have to draw conclusions from history. At the same time, I want to say once more that I support fully what we link with the profound perestroika of the agrarian sector. We must create the legal, economic, and social preconditions for the peasants to be able to show enterprise—simply speaking, to reveal themselves as masters on the land.

I want, comrades, to support views expressed by people's deputies on the development of the country's intellectual potential. We are dealing with a strategy for social and economic development. If we skimp on support for science, public education, health care, and culture, we shall condemn ourselves to an inevitable lag in both equipment and labor productivity, not to mention the spiritual and moral progress of Soviet society as a whole. [applause] The cultural sphere must not be excluded from the framework within which the economic reform functions. There are broad opportunities for self-financing and financial autonomy here, too; but together with all that, the state must constantly support science and culture, implementing major national programs and setting up the necessary centralized funds. That is how they act even in conditions of the private economy; the need for us to do it is all the greater. In general, as we draw up our plans in both the material, the sociopolitical, and the spiritual spheres, we must proceed from the premise that the ultimate goal of all these plans is to raise man and to tap his creative strengths and abilities.

Discussion of the fundamental problems concerning the next stage of the political reform and the creation of a new structure for power bodies in the republics, krais, and oblasts, and in general at a local level, and the formation of the institutions for a law-based state, occupied much space at the congress. The USSR Supreme Soviet will have to work just as intensely on the package of corresponding legislative acts.

The Congress has taken major steps in this direction. I have in mind the amendments to the constitution on issues of the electoral system and the adoption of the law on the constitutional supervision committee.

These decisions were not easy for us. During the course of discussions we had to search for a compromise between the different views and interests and overcome well-founded and not so well-founded fears. This is understandable as we are speaking perhaps about the most complicated political topic—on interethnic relations. But the results of our work themselves give hope. They show that with goodwill, comrades, and the striving to understand one another, it is always possible to find solutions to the most difficult problems. This, if you wish, is the only realistic policy, on the basis of which it is possible to strengthen our federation as a voluntary, socialist union of free peoples. The creation of a new, Soviet constitution will have huge significance in this scheme. At the congress, in essence, the understanding was formed—at least I interpret the results of the discussion of this issue like this—of the necessity for accelerating this work. As chairman of the Constitutional Commission set up by the first congress, I would like to say that we take this as our guide and will act accordingly. From this point of view, it is important that the congress gave the Supreme Soviet the authority to adopt laws which demand that amendments be made to certain articles of the constitution, of course, with subsequent ratification at the next congress of people's deputies. Thus, the legal prerequisites for the acceleration of the whole reform process have been created.

When speaking about the results of the congress, another cardinal theme which resounded in many speeches cannot be passed by. I mean the serious concern of deputies about manifestations of instability and disorder and about the relaxation of discipline and responsibility. I think that the anxiety of the whole of our society on this count was conveyed via the deputies.

This is spoken of with alarm in many letters and telegrams to our congress from the working people themselves and from whole collectives. It has become a general requirement of the people that order be brought to the country, the most resolute measures be taken to combat speculation, corruption, and the disorganization of many important spheres of the economy, and the unflinching observance of labor, financial, and state discipline be ensured. In introducing the broadest democracy and glasnost we are at the same time entitled and bound to put the matter as follows: Political activity and pluralism of views cannot and must not turn into anarchy and the undermining of the foundations of social and state order.

We say to those who are calling for strikes and whipping up nationalist passions, who have been and are clamoring, including here at the congress and from this rostrum, to the effect that we or rather our society is disintegrating, and who act on the principle of the worse the better—we say to these people that we shall not be

following the same path. [applause] Such actions, however much it is attempted to conceal them under the banner of perestroika, are in actual fact an attempt to wreck this revolutionary process. They are directly at variance with the interests of all the peoples of our country.

We have together been considering the question of the fight against crime and have adopted some important additional measures, but it is not right, of course, to pin all hopes only on the forces of law and order. This is a matter for the whole of society. Decisive importance will attach to recovery in the socioeconomic situation and the enhancement of conscientiousness, organization, and responsibility in all sectors of social activity.

If one asks what, most of all, we now need, I would say that it is consolidation on the platform of perestroika and the uniting of the energies of all its supporters and all who understand that it is only along the path of the revolutionary renewal of Soviet society that we shall be able to lead the country out of its present difficult situation.

It is no secret that there are people in our country who say that under the command system, even though it was based on fear and on force, there was discipline and order in the country, while democratization and freedom are the path to chaos and anarchy. This is not the place for philosophical debates, nor the time. Let me just say that on the basis of fear you will not build a dynamic and spiritually healthy society that is capable of natural growth and self-development. We have seen this for ourselves, comrades. [applause] We have seen this for ourselves from our history.

Fear may preserve order for some time, but such an order deprives socialism of its humanist content and of its very meaning. Glasnost has just made manifest those things which had for many years been accumulating under the cover of just such fear and were nurtured by it—dark, evil, and immoral. One of two things: Either freedom and perestroika or barrack-like order and lurching back. We chose the first and we will not depart from this road. [applause] On this road, on the road of democracy and law, we will form a new, genuinely socialist discipline, a legal and not a dictatorial order. This is our common task and common responsibility, both of the working people and of the authorities. And we will not permit ourselves to yield to panic and we will never give in to those who, for various reasons, want to frighten us with the chaos and revolt of the street. Perestroika has offered society a new system of values and people are becoming accustomed to enjoying this as their own natural right although far from each and everyone with sufficient skill. This is also a fact.

Whatever the shortcomings, difficulties, failures, and mistakes we might speak about during the course of perestroika, sight should not be lost of the fact that its main value is that same main value which society has already received in principle. At the same time it is the

source of our unprecedented international prestige. We have returned the slogan Freedom to the banners of socialism, in the widest, all-embracing meaning of this word.

We may state that international relations are now in many ways developing in accordance with the characteristics of the new thinking offered by perestroika. The world has appraised the significance of this thinking—not only at the level of governments, but also of millions of simple citizens in all of the continents of our earth. The perception by the peoples of our perestroika, the understanding by them of the grandeur and universal scale of the transformations in the Soviet Union, the solidarity and enthusiasm, are striking in their sincerity, trust, and readiness to support us. A completely different international atmosphere has already taken shape in the world, especially in Europe. As never before, it favors our work on perestroika in the country, liberates from great, attendant concerns but signifies even more moral and political responsibility for us, dear comrade deputies, and for the whole of our people.

In concluding our congress, comrades, I would cordially like to thank all the people's deputies for their selfless labor and for their cooperation, even though there have been some aspects during these few days which have caused us considerable concern. On the whole, though, the congress has nevertheless passed off in a normal and businesslike working atmosphere; we are gradually accruing experience and establishing traditions, and we shall enrich these each time.

We are parting company on the eve of the New Year, and I take the opportunity to wish you all success in your political activities, in fulfilling the mandates of your electorate, and of course simple human happiness, to your families, too. We are not parting for long, since the members of the Supreme Soviet have to get down to work right at the start of next year, and many USSR people's deputies will take part in the work of committees and commissions. Permit me, comrades, on behalf of us all, to express gratitude to all those who facilitated the work of the Congress, and to convey cordial greetings to the millions of Soviet people who followed our work and gave us demanding support and wished for successful solution of the tasks confronting the Second Congress of People's Deputies. [applause]

Comrades, the agenda for the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies has been exhausted. I declare the congress closed. [national anthem is played]

For the participants of the Party Central Committee plenum, I announce that this will open tomorrow at 1200. Farewell.

Ryzhkov Interviewed on Congress, Other Issues

*PM2512204189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 26 Dec 89 First Edition p 2*

[Interview with N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the

USSR Council of Ministers, by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA parliamentary correspondents: "I Believe in This Program"; date, place of interview not given]

[Excerpt] [Question] Nikolay Ivanovich, what in your view has been the main element in the work of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies?

[Ryzhkov] The main element, I believe, is that the program on recovery measures for our economy has been adopted. I believe in this program. You saw what a fight there was. There was a great deal of criticism. Fairly blunt, maybe, and not always justified. But I think the discussion went well. I am already getting away from the fight which went on over the program, and am increasingly thinking about how to implement it. As soon as the congress ends we will immediately begin working on specific steps for its fulfillment. We won't let anything stop us. However it has been projected—that is the way we will pursue this line. I know that if nothing has changed within a year, the vote will be quite different. I am well aware of this. The main task now, therefore, is to implement the adopted program.

But it is also necessary for the appropriate political situation to exist in the country. It is essential for the whole of society, for all of us, to be attuned to action—including, of course, in respect of the program the deputies voted for.

[Question] What comment have you to make about the debate on Article Six of the Constitution?

[Ryzhkov] I believe we are pointlessly crossing swords over this article. The issue is assuming some sort of purely formal coloration—to remove the article or to leave it. I don't believe this is the point. The point is that we really need to carry out in the party some very serious work to change the style and forms of its activities. We have gotten accustomed to the party essentially leading the state. Today a new force—the soviets—has emerged, and we must take this into consideration. They are taking the reins of administration into their own hands. Therefore the party, too, must now restructure itself in line with those changes taking place in society. The party must change. It must think deeply about how to work in the future, what methods to use. This, I believe, must not be forgotten. I think the party Central Committee plenum scheduled for the second half of January will precisely have to have its say: On how the party is to act in the new conditions. I am expecting some serious talking there. Indeed it will become the platform for the 28th CPSU Congress.

[Question] Much is said today about the fact that there is no unified opinion on various important issues within the Central Committee Politburo. Is this so?

[Ryzhkov] I believe that the political leadership must have unity in its strategic goals. As far as the attitude of each Politburo member to one problem or another, to some particular, tactical questions is concerned, I don't believe there can be unity. Each Politburo member is,

after all is said and done, an individual. And each Politburo member has his own viewpoint. I see nothing to be ashamed of in that.

[Question] When in your view will the situation change with regard to the provision of food products for the population? When will the shelves in the stores be filled?

[Ryzhkov] I very much want this to come about. You are aware that in the program that is now being designated the Ryzhkov program we made the consumer sector the cornerstone. I understand the entire responsibility which we are assuming. You probably paid attention to the fact that I said: We must apply the brakes to the base sectors of the national economy for three years. You know that I am now being strongly criticized for that. I say that we must make this maneuver for 2-3 years. I would very much like the year 1990 to be a breakthrough in this issue.

[Question] Nikolay Ivanovich, questions of military building have been raised much more frequently at this congress than at the first. How do you assess the state of affairs in the Armed Forces, the progress of perestroika in the Army?

[Ryzhkov] I listened attentively to the speeches by the military deputies at the congress and I know the opinion of the general officers. Much is now being spoken about military reform. I cannot say when this reform will be formulated. I know that work on it is in progress, but I would listen very attentively to those young officers who addressed the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Their proposals are worth listening to. They should not be rejected out of hand. There are some fairly interesting ideas in these proposals.

I am disturbed by a certain resistance on the part of the officer corps deputies and the general deputies. In my view, when formulating the reform—and I am deeply convinced that it is essential in the Army—it is necessary to listen to both the senior and junior ranks. But the Army must be valued. We must cherish our Army. Do whatever you like to me, but I remain on these positions.

In the history of our state the peoples have at all times related well to the Army. Our task is to remove the negative element that exists in the Army, to galvanize the processes of democratization, and to implement other essential transformations. But the Army must be valued, and we must do this. This is our task.

[Question] Nikolay Ivanovich, during the congress you met with young officer deputies. What did you get from this meeting?

[Ryzhkov] A great deal. If I hadn't met with the young officers I wouldn't have said what I have said to you just now. I listened to them attentively and realized that on the whole their position is a constructive one. I am not speaking about particular questions—they also raised those, and they also must be resolved. On the whole my stance has been conditioned by my meeting with the

young officer deputies. There was no one there above the rank of colonel. Their proposals on perestroika in the Armed Forces and reform in the Army are deserving of attention. And we will listen to them.

[Question] We would like to know what, in your view, will be the reaction of the CPSU Central Committee plenum to the separation of the Lithuanian Communist Party?

[Ryzhkov] I cannot make any assessments for the Central Committee plenum. I can only express my own opinion as a member of the Politburo, as a Communist. I believe that, given all the great changes taking place in our society, we cannot chop the party into pieces. The party must be united. This is my viewpoint. I am profoundly convinced of it.

[Question] What are the prospects for the declaration of a moratorium on nuclear weapon tests?

[Ryzhkov] I would very much like this to happen today. Because I am having to deal constantly with Semipalatinsk. A constant stream of people are coming to me—during the congress, before the congress. I believe that it is necessary to shape world public opinion on the need to ban nuclear weapon tests. The U.S. side must be approached. As soon as they say "yes," the Soviet Union will say "yes" within a matter of seconds. [passage omitted]

Political & Social

Reportage on CPSU CC Plenum on Lithuania

25 Dec Speakers Listed

LD2512202189 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1822 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 Dec (TASS)—An extraordinary plenum of the CPSU Central Committee opened today. Questions connected with the decisions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania were presented for the examination of the plenum.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, delivered a report at the plenum.

At the plenum spoke: A.M.K. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania; M.M. Burokyavichyus, secretary of the Temporary Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania (on the CPSU platform) and professor of the Vilnius State Pedagogical Institute; A.R.Kh. Veziror, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan; N.A. Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan; Yu. N. Yelchenko, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine; V.A. Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; V.V. Grigoriyev, first secretary of the Vitebsk Obkom of the Communist Party of Belorussia; Ye.K.

Ligachev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A.M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghizia; V.A. Ivashko, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine; V.I. Valjas, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia; M.F. Nenashev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting; Yu.D. Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee; V.S. Baltrunas, former secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania; V.A. Kryuchkov, chairman of the USSR State Security Committee; Ya.Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia; G.P. Razumovskiy, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; V.A. Berezov, second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania; M.Yu. Yusupov, first secretary of the Dagestan Obkom of the CPSU; A.I. Korniyenko, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Directorate of the Baltic Fleet.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum will continue its work on 26 December.

Gorbachev 25 Dec Report

LD2612113589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0600 GMT 26 December

[Report by M.S. Gorbachev at CPSU Central Committee Plenum on 25 Dec: "Fate of Perestroika Is in Unity of the Party"—read by announcer]

[Text] The following is the full text of M.S. Gorbachev's report:

Today's CPSU Central Committee plenum is directly connected with the Second Congress of People's Deputies, which has ended. The congress that has taken place and the decisions adopted by it are of immense importance for the decisive advancement of our country along the path of perestroika.

In view of the processes of perestroika we probably find ourselves today at the most crucial stage of revolutionary transformations. Too much of the future of the country and of the peoples which live in it depends on how we are to act right now, in putting the decisions which have been adopted into practice. This also determines the exceptionally responsible role which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has to play at this time. It is clear that in order for the CPSU, as the political vanguard, to be equal to the tasks, it too must renew itself, and bring its structures, methods, and work style into line with the new tasks.

All this—the course of perestroika, the assessments, the conclusions for the future, the questions of party construction and of the democratization of the party—will be the focus of attention of all the Communists and the whole society in the pre-congress period and at the 28th CPSU Congress itself. But already it is clear that we

need, as never before, cohesiveness and unity in the ranks of the CPSU, based on the goals of perestroika.

It is precisely at this time that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has convened this CPSU Central Committee plenum in order to discuss a situation our party is unaccustomed to. As you know, the recently held 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress adopted a "Declaration of Independence of the Lithuanian Communist Party" [LCP] and a resolution on "The Status of the Lithuanian Communist Party." A program and statutes (rules) of the LCP were also adopted.

In these documents it is stated that the position of the Lithuanian Communist Party, which has existed until now as a territorial organization, is not in accordance with the aspirations of the majority of the republic's Communists to independently decide issues of the party's activities and participate in the life of Lithuania.

The congress declared that the Lithuanian republican organization of the CPSU is an independent Communist Party of Lithuania. It sees its main aim as the creation of an independent democratic Lithuanian state. The reorganized Communist Party intends to maintain its relations with the CPSU, as with other parties, public organizations, and movements on equal partner-like principles. Moreover, the character and content of these relations will depend on how the CPSU interprets the decisions adopted by the Lithuanian Communist Party.

The resolution of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress "On Implementing the Statute of the Lithuanian Communist Party" says, in particular: "The 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress, on the basis of the rules of the CPSU, as the highest body, adopted by a majority of votes of delegates elected on 20 December 1989 a declaration on the independence of the Lithuanian Communist Party and a decision 'On the Status of the Lithuanian Communist Party.' These documents, under the CPSU Rules, are binding for all members of party organizations." Think over how complex it all is. The congress, convened on the basis of the rules of the CPSU, on the strength of the rules of the CPSU, at the same time declared the Lithuanian Communist Party independent—that is, they adopted a decision radically contradicting the CPSU Rules.

"All the Communists of Lithuania registered in organizations of the Lithuanian Communist Party are members of the Lithuanian Communist Party. The Lithuanian Communist Party will continue henceforth, too, to own, use, and dispose of the property of the former Lithuanian organization of the CPSU. After the statute and program of the Lithuanian Communist Party were ratified by the congress, the program and rules of the CPSU lost their force from 21 December this year." It turns out that the documents setting out the program and rules of the CPSU are rejected; however, the binding force of the decisions of the congress, nevertheless, are based namely on them.

"On the basis of the documents adopted at the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress, the primary party organizations or the action committees of Communists which have taken shape in them are to reshape the structure and activity of the organizations as provided for in the statutes of the Lithuanian Communist Party before 1 March 1990. The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee envisages the resolution of all remaining questions of perestroika, of specific organizational activity of the party within the framework of the statute of the Lithuanian Communist Party before 1 February 1990."

The congress adopted an appeal to the CPSU Central Committee plenum which says, among other things: "The Communists of Lithuania are seeking a way out of the situation which has been created; they are seeking their own solutions and calling on everyone to accelerate perestroika, to wisely steer their own ship in the stormy torrent of political events, and to make their own contribution to creating a common European home. Society supports our self-determination and it is approved of by the majority of Communists. They are also with us, with our hopes and with our open, fully-publicized, and unambiguous program, at the center of attention of which is man, humanism, democracy, and socialism. There are no schismatic moods or unkindly intentions in our actions. We state openly that we want to be ourselves, and that we wish to be independent, pure and honest, and to proceed from the lofty Communist principles which guarantee the right of nations to self-determination. The Communists of Lithuania understand well how difficult it is at present for the leaders of perestroika and for all who support it. They also hope that the Communists of the Soviet Union will understand and support our desire to act in an unstereotyped way and make bold decisions. Had we not made these decisions we would have wasted the opportunity of dissociating ourselves in a radical way from Stalinist dogma in the party and in society. Life, which is changing in a dynamic way, may not again present us with such an opportunity. Our self-determination is not a challenge to ideological comrades. Our path is not one of a splintering of forces. Our directive is not speculation with the emotions of a people who have become convinced of the life-giving power of perestroika and democracy. Our objective is democratic socialism, which we want to move toward together with all the Communists of the Soviet Union, basing our relations on the principles of equal partnership and the general strategy of perestroika."

I would also like to provide another piece of information, which is as follows: During the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress a group of its delegates, who did not agree with the independent status of the Lithuanian Communist Party, organized a conference of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

A news report carried by the republican press indicates that "taking part in its meetings were 144 delegates, as

well as representatives of a number of party organizations from Vilnius, Kaunas, and rural areas. The conference delegates, who stood for an independent Lithuanian Communist Party within a renewing CPSU, adopted a decision and a message to the republic's communists. In accordance with the requirements of the CPSU Rules, a provisional Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party made up of 58 members, and a provisional Auditing Commission of the Lithuanian Communist Party, made up of 7 members, were elected. That brought the work of the conference to an end. The first plenum of the Lithuanian Communist Party Provisional Central Committee, which then took place, elected comrades M. Burokyavichyus, V. Kardamavichyus, Yu. Kuolyalis, and V. Shved secretaries of the Provisional Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party. Comrades V. Antonov, O. Burdenko, Ch. Vysotskiy, I. Guretskas, Yu. Yermalavichus, A. Kulakov, and P. Stashkunas were elected members of the Lithuanian Communist Party Provisional Central Committee Bureau."

In his closing statement at the congress, Brazauskas noted that he was hoping for a sober assessment of the events taking place by the participants in the coming CPSU Central Committee plenum, "since the Lithuanian Central Party's decision is an objective reflection of the evolved political situation in the republic and expresses the will and aspirations of the majority of the Communists and the Lithuanian people, rather than being the consequence of someone's ambitious strivings." He emphasized that the creation of an independent Lithuanian Communist Party did not mean that links with the CPSU would be severed and hoped that this would be correctly interpreted and appraised at the plenum.

In a word, the program documents of the congress and the political report treat the adopted measures as an important contribution to the renewal of the CPSU and our union. But if we call a spade a spade, a step has been taken which is directed at an organizational and political break from the CPSU. A decision of that kind goes far beyond the framework of intraparty relations. In essence, this delivers a blow to the political reform, to our hopes and plans for renewing the socialist society in the spirit of humanism and democracy.

These decisions are provoking the CPSU into a reaction which could undermine many of the processes of perestroika. This is indeed how the main mass of the Communists of the country and Soviet citizens are describing the position of the Lithuanian comrades—brusquely, but basically justly. At least the information which we have enables me to assert precisely this.

Thousands of appeals arriving at the Central Committee over these past days, thousands of resolutions by party and workers' meetings are demanding from us a principled evaluation of the Lithuanian congress, and energetic and effective measures to defend the unity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

This reaction is understandable. Ideas of nationalist separatism have always been alien to the spirit of socialist internationalism—the linchpin of the Soviet state of many nations. But here it is not a matter of emotions; they are not the best adviser in such questions. There is not much philosophizing needed to condemn and to stigmatize.

But to agree with our Lithuanian comrades would be to worsen the schism and antagonize those Communists who are truly devoted to socialist ideals and the aims of perestroika; who, even having voted for the decisions of the 20th congress, continue to agonize over the correctness of the step they have taken.

I.

Now, comrades, I would like to express my view on the political struggle that has developed in the republic over the last 2 years. This must be done, if only briefly.

The development of events had a certain logic to it. The inability of some leaders of party organizations in the republic to master the political situation in Lithuania, to influence it, and to implement the CPSU policy on perestroika was reflected in the nature of the processes that have occurred. It happened, we came up against this, it is a fact. Instead of profound work, a principled dialogue, and the unification of forces on a platform that was truly in accordance with the genuine interests of the Lithuanian people, the leadership of the republic Communist Party Central Committee diverged from the party line and moved over to appeasing and flirting directly with nationalistic, separatist forces, and to fragmenting the party ranks.

At the initial stage of perestroika the whole opposition "host" in the republic amounted to a few dozen people. Their political ambitions then did not reach further than legalization and a desire to win popularity by rousing nationalistic feelings. But later the activity of the opposition forces grew.

The opposition, making use of the rapid social processes, adapted to the slogans of perestroika while pursuing goals of discrediting socialism.

The danger of this phenomenon was not noticed and assessed on its merits in a timely fashion. From that moment the loss of the Communist Party's leading position began. The condition of social stability was not used to the necessary extent to draft a constructive program of action. The inertia of the Lithuanian Communist Party leadership and the stagnation in party political work gave rise to dissatisfaction in the population. This was skillfully taken advantage of by antisocialist and leftist forces, through whose efforts numerous politicized associations of various tendencies began to form in the republic.

"Sajudis," formed with the active participation of well-known creative and scientific workers and members of the party, asserted itself the most strongly. Inflexibility

in party work, and actions according to old clichés and yardsticks, did not give the Communists the opportunity to become a motivating force in "Sajudis." The change of leadership in the Lithuanian Communist Party in October 1988 provided a real chance to extract lessons from the mistakes that had been made and to begin a process of exiting from the deepened crisis, leaning on the support of the healthy forces in the party and in society. This, however, is not what took place. In fact, Comrade Brazauskas and the apparatus he led went to the other extreme. A line of appeasement was chosen, of endless concessions to the ever harsher demands of "Sajudis." All this just strengthened the political ambitions of the right-wing sentiments that had taken shape there. The decline of the party's influence on the mass media meant a heavy loss. "Sajudis," in step with taking this ground, took more and more to the path of confrontation and of struggle for real power.

Throughout this period a considerable proportion of the republic's Communists were expressing serious concern about the development of the situation. Comradely criticism of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee was also to be heard from the CPSU Central Committee. Under the influence of this criticism, the 17th Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was convened in February 1989. The speeches by those taking part gave a principled assessment of the situation in the republic and in its party organizations, calling the negative phenomena in society by their proper names, and outlining clearly their ruinous consequences. Everything pointed to the fact that the plenum's decisions could become a reliable platform for consolidating healthy forces and rectifying the mistakes of the election campaign.

A study of the situation during that period provides evidence of serious anxiety in the radical right-wing of "Sajudis" over the destiny of its policies. Most of all, they were worried about propaganda for the decisions adopted by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum and the implementation of those decisions.

However, the leadership of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee lacked the resolve and strength of principle to go on the offensive.

The organizational and political paralysis particularly increased after "Sajudis" won the March elections. In April 1989 "Sajudis," encouraged by its success, adopted at the fourth session of the Sejm a resolution on the independence of the Lithuanian Communist Party. That, strictly speaking, is whose resolution was fulfilled by the 20th congress.

In the mass media the victors gave the "go ahead" for an antisocialist campaign. The process to dissolve sections of the Communist Party in movements and organizations of a nationalistic hue began to gather strength. Party discipline fell sharply and manifestations of

national arrogance and chauvinism in relation to other peoples began to make themselves noisily apparent.

In these conditions the leaders of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, and first and foremost Comrades Brazauskas and Berezov, went even further in surrendering their fundamental positions. With the virtual support of the Central Committee a number of acts of legislation and governmental decisions were adopted in the republic which run counter to the USSR Constitution and which are aimed at rupturing federal relations with the USSR. At the same time numerous—I repeat, numerous—warnings from the CPSU Central Committee about the consequences of this course were ignored.

Moods in favor of isolation embraced many public organizations. For example, the congresses of eighteen vocational and creative unions and other public associations in the republic adopted decisions on separation from all-union structures. The Lithuanian Communist Youth League withdrew from the VLKSM [All-Union Komsomol] as an independent organization with its own program and charter.

At the same time, political formations of a bourgeois hue are being created. The creation of a Social Democratic Party, a party of Christian Democrats, as well as seven other political organizations was proclaimed. The "Tautincais" Party, which, as the Lithuanian comrades themselves acknowledge, carried out a coup d'etat in 1926 and established an authoritarian regime, is being revived. All these political formations profess separatist ideas and lead to the discrediting of socialism, the CPSU, Soviet power, and the USSR Armed Forces. The Catholic Church, which antisocialist forces are trying to use, is being politicized.

In such a situation, when a sense of party principle needed to be displayed to the full, the party Central Committee leadership drifted politically, passively going along with the moods of meetings. There was complete rejection of the decisions of their own plenums, at which a realistic appraisal of the development of events was given quite recently.

This lack of consistency in the republican leadership led many Communists into confusion, and encouraged the process of demarcation among party organizations and workers according to their ideological and political views and nationality. Departures from the ranks of the CPSU have increased. Since the beginning of this year more than 6,500 people have given up their party cards. Only 824 people have joined the party, which is more than five times fewer compared to last year. During the recent reports-back and elections there was a reduction in the party's basic-level sections. Party influence in a number of towns in the republic has significantly weakened. The number of workers and collective farmers among the party leaders who have been newly elected has fallen sharply.

At the same time, Communists who disagree with the policy "for full independence" find themselves labelled opponents of perestroika or enemies of the nation. Under various pretexts they are being removed from political work. This approach gives birth to perplexity and uncertainty in the future among the party and Soviet and economic aktiv.

Incidentally, a few days ago I received a statement from the Communist Party leaders Comrades Astrauskas and Sakalauskas—they are the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic—saying that they cannot work in the situation that has arisen. Things are getting to the point of a mass replacement of unsuitable cadres. A few days ago there was a session of the bureau of the primary party organization of the staff of the town party committee in Vilnius, which made the decision that the whole staff of the town committee should resign.

On the whole, no time is lost in dealing with those who hold other views. Social movements, originally created under the slogan of perestroika, have in many ways turned into opposing fronts. People are being openly stupefied and, thereby, illusory ideas are being instilled in them about their prosperity should they leave the USSR and renounce socialism.

Serious distortions of nationalities policy have led to the acute exacerbation of relations between the nationalities inside the republic, to the growth of autonomistic sentiments among the Polish population and to resettlement tendencies in the Russian-speaking environment. There is a real threat of civil conflict. That should be said outright.

Active attempts are being made to internationalize the so-called "Baltic question," and a provocative address is being organized in the United Nations organization and the European Parliament asking for pressure to be brought to bear on the Soviet leadership. There is knocking on the door of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. There is also knocking on the doors of the White House. On the whole, answers are being sought along these lines to the questions which have come to a head.

Emissaries of Sajudis and various political groupings are systematically going abroad with this aim and are even trying to hold official political and economic talks on behalf of their peoples, and are often acting in an instigative way. However, it should be said objectively that in the West this is received with certain caution and it disassociates itself from such attempts to involve it in political games. Tactical methods of struggle draw attention to themselves. In order to guarantee themselves the necessary conditions for seizing power in a "parliamentary way," some of the people's deputies from Sajudis are using the propaganda of perestroika slogans for these aims. The tactic of choosing the pace of dismantling the socialist gains in the republic has been elaborated and is being scrupulously implemented. It is true that until quite recently it was thought that that would happen in

1991, and now it is said that after the 20th congress the situation is developing in such a way that that may be achieved in 1990, too. Moreover, it is meant to exploit the political and moral unpreparedness of the population for radical and rapid changes in order to deprive them of the opportunity of comprehending the essence of the changes that are taking place. The decision to hold as soon as possible the 20th Congress of the Communist Party should be viewed, too, in the context of the real situation which has taken shape in the republic, and taking account of the position of the leadership of the Communist Party of Lithuania. The elections of delegates at the congress passed in an atmosphere of anticentrist addresses, and the elections were designed in such a way as to reduce at the congress the number of those opposed to leaving the CPSU.

It will suffice to say that among the delegates to the 20th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party, workers and collective farmers made up less than 3 percent.

One could have expected that the necessary conditions would have been created to enable each Communist or nonparty member to freely express his point of view regarding the Communist Party's future, its ties with the CPSU. However, not without the assistance of the leadership of the Central Committee of the republic's Communist Party, public opinion was persistently shaped in favor of isolating Lithuania's Communist Party. For those who supported this line, a kind of most-favored-status treatment was being created. And their opponents were frequently subjected to attacks and persecutions. In short, pluralism of views was clearly not welcomed. Dissidence was suppressed.

This manifested itself in full measure also in the course of the work of the congress, when the supporters of separatist views attempted to appropriate a monopoly on the truth. As a matter of fact, it must be said that the addresses were regulated in such a way that the voice for other proposals and calling for reflection was virtually not properly heard.

Massive personal pressure was brought to bear on the elected delegates. In spite of the measures taken, according to the evaluations of the most radical Sajudis members, prior to the start of the congress no more than 50 percent of the elected delegates were their open supporters. A tactical line was then worked out to drag through the planned decisions. The tactics of voting by name on fundamental questions was used as additional pressure on the delegates. After voting by name on the status of the Communist Party, an obstruction was organized to those who had cast their vote in favor of unity with the CPSU. An atmosphere of distrust and intolerance was created around them. A one-sided approach was displayed also when the congress elected secretaries of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee by a direct vote, when, essentially, alternative elections were not allowed.

As a result of all this, the measures which the leaders of the Lithuanian Communist Party said were meant to consolidate perestroyka forces in the republic led to exactly the opposite results—a split in the party.

Now the question is being posed: Why was the dangerous development of events not halted? Did the leadership of the CPSU know about the situation in Lithuania? Of course it knew, comrades. There were repeated conversations with the republic's leaders about the development of the situation in the republic and about the place and the tasks of the Communists. These issues were repeatedly discussed in the Politburo, including instances where all members of the Buro of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee took part—in the commissions of the CPSU Central Committee and in the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet—when issues connected with Soviet construction were involved.

In order to render practical assistance in normalizing the situation, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, senior staff of the Central Committee's apparatus, heads of union agencies and organizations, and academics travelled to the republic, resolutions were adopted, and oral recommendations were expressed. However, the steps taken by the center did not receive great attention in the republic. More than that, they constantly ran up against resistance. The decisions of the CPSU Central Committee, as a rule, were not brought to the knowledge of Communists and party committees. Frequently their essence was distorted.

Naturally, all this could not fail to give rise to our own doubts and questions. However, Comrades Brazauskas, Berezov, and other leaders of the republic gave assurances that they were compelled to act in this way because of the real sentiments not only in the party organizations, but also in the broad circles of the public in the republic.

It must be bluntly admitted that we heeded their suggestions and often met them halfway, understanding the historical features, the complexities, and the drama of how socialism came into being in Lithuania, and observing tact and profound respect for the feeling of national dignity of the people. But how was this received by the Lithuanian comrades?

Well, here is just one example. We all know well how difficult the adopting of a law on economic independence for the republic was. Both we in the Central Committee's Politburo and in the Government and the People's Deputies wanted to believe that the adoption of this law would truly serve to stabilize the situation in the republic and strengthen the positions of the Communist Party and its leadership. But now the granting of economic independence to the Lithuanian SSR is being viewed as the main and most important argument in favor of the republican Communist Party's withdrawal from the CPSU.

The republic, they say, cannot be independent economically and dependent politically. This is just tightrope-walking, it is inside-out logic.

In our view, the leadership of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee does not realize the dangerous consequences of the course being conducted. What is lacking on their part is a realistic assessment of the situation in the republic. True, Comrade Brazauskas assures us even now that everything he is doing is dictated by a desire to save the Communist Party. Even if this is so, it is mistaken. And we must tell Comrade Brazauskas and his colleagues that it is mistaken and dangerous to build policy on mistakes, all the more so long-term policy. And in the republic as a whole it is not realized by many people that it is the fate of the gains of the Lithuanian people, acquired by them in conditions of long and hard struggle, that have been jeopardized.

The separatists are urging the people into a historical blind alley. I do not tire of saying this, because I am profoundly convinced of this. And this is not just emotion, not simply a political catchphrase or metaphor. No, it is a conclusion based on long and deep reflection.

II.

What are the ways to escape the situation that has arisen?

The principled evaluation of the documents of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania is, in general, obvious: They mean a break with the CPSU and a split among the progressive perestroika forces within the republic itself. The Program and Statute of the LCP erode the ideological foundations and reject the ideas of socialist internationalism. Nor is the reduction of vital socioeconomic and national-cultural problems to a question of state independence tolerable for a Communist Party.

The decisions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania are, from the standpoint of its organization and statutes, unauthorized. The delegates to the congress were elected in line with the rules of the CPSU, on the platform of the CPSU, and according to the norms of CPSU, party life. They gained a mandate for perestroika, not for a split in the party, and were not granted special powers by the republic's Communists to decide the issue of the Lithuanian Communist Party's withdrawal from the CPSU. For that reason they are illegal. Only a member of the CPSU, each individual member, has the right to decide for himself the matter of which party to be in; and no forum has the right to transfer him automatically from one party to another.

It likewise follows from the CPSU rules that no section of the CPSU is empowered to resolve the issue of its independent existence on the basis of its own program and rules without taking account of the standpoint of the CPSU as a whole. That means that the Communist Party of Lithuania was and remains an integral part of a unified CPSU. The CPSU Central Committee continues to regard Lithuanian committees as CPSU bodies. It is on this basis that relations within the party are to be built.

I make no bones about the fact that differences in views surfaced during the preliminary exchange of opinions in the run-up to this plenum. A number of comrades believe that the decisions of the 20th Congress ought to be accepted as a "fait accompli", and events in the republic allowed to develop the way they will, while our reaction should be limited to a political assessment. Moreover, they fail to see anything dramatic at all in these events, imagining that the logic behind the democratization of the Soviet Federation will, whether sooner or later, just the same lead us to take similar steps in other republics, too. On the other hand, other comrades adopt harsh stances: The integrity of the party and the state has been put on the line. They believe that the maintenance of these justifies any means.

It is proposed, in particular, to disband the republican party organization and carry out its reregistration, and to entrust the provisional discharge of the functions of the LCP Central Committee to an organizational committee that has been set up, putting at its disposal all the material means and resources of the CPSU, including the mass news media, party printing plants, buildings and so on.

Each of these proposals has its logic, but each also has its weakness. I think we must display a maximum degree of self-control, reflection, and circumspection, and give emotions a chance to cool and common sense to be restored. Such a consideration is far from groundless. It is directed both at that part of the republic's Communists who are retaining an internationalist stance and championing the unity of the CPSU, and to those Communists who have found themselves at the crossroads but have not lost their Communist beliefs and are ready once more to subject the step they have taken to critical reflection.

Let us collectively exchange views on this matter. I think that it would be right to discuss the present situation in all the republic's party organizations and to bring out more fully and precisely the full spectrum of forces and opinions. Our actions are premised on the belief that the independence of the republican communist parties is as possible and desirable within the framework of the CPSU as is the sovereignty of the republics in the framework of a renewed federation. Moreover, in the work to come, we believe that the chief argument for all of us, Communists, is the concept of the Leninist nationalities policy, the commitment to which we recently reaffirmed again at the Central Committee plenum. The real path to a free and self-governed Lithuania is to be found on the foundation of a cardinal renewal of the Soviet federation.

The Marxist tenet of self-determination of nations is the pivot of the party's nationalities policy.

At the CPSU Central Committee plenum we put a modern interpretation on this tenet, stressing that it is by no means restricted to issues of territory, or the state status of one people or another.

It is characteristic that the report by the CP of Lithuania Central Committee to the 20th Congress quite justly points out: "Statehood cannot be made absolute—I quote Comrade Brazauskas' words in the report—it is a means for the survival and normal existence of a nation, not an aim in itself." I continue his own words: "The real goal is the democratization of society, social equality, conditions in which people's material and spiritual needs are fully met, and in which their creative potential is revealed."

These are just words. And so it is all the more incomprehensible why the leaders of the Lithuanian Communists have, in their actions, precisely taken up positions making statehood absolute.

Does not perestroika proclaim a renewal of our union, our socialist federation, such that the revolution of the creative potential of every people indeed becomes the supreme goal, and acquires the mechanism for realizing that goal. It is an approach just such as this that has found reflection in the conceptions of the political reform of Soviet society and republican financial autonomy.

The meaning of these measures is the broad decentralization of management decisions, transfer of an increasing number of prerogatives to local organs of power, and the creation of conditions for realizing people's material and spiritual needs.

Can one seriously speak of creating these same material conditions if one embarks on the path of serving Lithuania's economic ties with the union? For the policy of state independence of the republic will inevitably lead to the curtailment and restriction of such ties.

Yes, what can one say? Telegrams are already coming in, people are asking: In the event that they withdraw from the Soviet Union—and the decisions of the 20th congress are interpreted in precisely that way—do we have to conclude treaties with them? Everything must always be thought through right to the end.

In his report, Comrade Brazauskas gave a very critical assessment of the Lithuanian economy and said that to step forward to autonomy wearing one's best shoes is the sort of statement to be made only at a rally. I think he greatly exaggerated here. Lithuania is not wearing its best shoes today. Perhaps when it first became part of the Soviet Union, there were still people wearing their best shoes. But today—and I have been in the republic and seen for myself—that is not the case at all. Today the republic is completely different.

But it is obvious that for the economy of Latvia, and of other union republics, too, to exist autonomously is not a simple matter. Economic links have grown up over centuries. And this market, at first the Russian market and now the Soviet, the all-union market is all the result of a very long road. We have a level of integration and of division of labor higher than in the European Economic Community. If you fly in the face of real processes that

have come about and begin to destroy links and give in to the exhortations of those who love cheap, sensational statements, then that means simply ruining the republic.

In my opinion—I have already said something about this, but since this question is on the agenda, it is worth repeating the following once again. Today Lithuania acquires 74 percent of its requirements for ferrous metals, 97 percent of its nonferrous metals, 97 percent of its nonferrous metals, 77 percent of its oil and gas, 75 percent of its chemicals, and 100 percent of its oil and gas, 75 percent of its chemicals, and 100 percent of its coal from within the framework of the union. Overall, valued at R7 billion are imported into the republic.

Of course, Lithuania exports a lot, too—almost R6 billion worth: mainly agricultural products and light industrial goods. Stable links have arisen within the framework of the all-union market. The republic's national economy is just entering a period of new intensive renewal of the production apparatus. No republican financial autonomy will cover the expenditure that will be required for this. Hopes for a "kind uncle in the West" are simply naive. This is the reality. Those who concern themselves with policy and not with emotions understand very well that the economic separatism of Lithuania cannot and will not lead to any material prosperity either now or in the foreseeable future.

That is my profound conviction. It is by no means concern for economic prosperity or social equality that moves those who fight for the state independence of Lithuania. It is a question of political ambitions and certainly not in the interests of the working people. Comrades, the working people of Lithuania must be helped to examine things so they truly understand what is really at issue.

Perestroika has given rise to swift growth in national self-awareness and feelings of national pride on the part of all our peoples for their history, culture, language, traditions, and customs and an ardent aspiration not only to preserve but also to multiply national values passed down from the distant past. And this process is supported by the party, which has irrevocably condemned the very crude distortions of Lenin's nationalities policy and those deformations that have left deep scars in national self-awareness. We have recognized that the Soviet socialist federation is in need of cardinal renewal and improvement.

The aggravation of relations between the nationalities in various parts of the country has brought to the surface the dissatisfaction of many peoples and ethnic groups with their political, socioeconomic, and cultural state, a dissatisfaction which has been building up for decades. The democratization of society has provided an opportunity to express this dissatisfaction openly, for the pain of old resentments to bubble over, and for people to engage in active agitation for national rebirth. Taken in their natural form, national feelings are the elixir of life for the health of each nation and people. However, the

infection of nationalism penetrates into the national consciousness of a people where there is a shortage of political culture. And that is indeed a poison which sooner or later destroys any social organism and eats away its immune system and the soul of the people.

These days nationalism acts as a parasite especially on natural national feelings and on national rebirth, which are linked with perestroika. It tries to play its political game based on the deformations of the past. And sometimes this succeeds. For these deformations did exist, and national feelings involve not only a person's reason, but also his emotions.

Exciting the emotions, bringing them to a point where passions boil, suppressing everything rational in the consciousness, and finding the enemy in the shape of the center or in people of another nationality—these are the most typical features of nationalist manipulations. And in theory, in politics, and in practice as well there is always a clear boundary dividing the national from the nationalist. This boundary lies in regard for the worth of the other people and for the interests of the whole of society.

In one case it is the ability to coordinate these; in the other, national arrogance.

It is well known that ideas of national independence have always had a magnetic attraction for the mass consciousness, and still have, especially in conditions where the standard of living is far from prosperous and where dissatisfaction is brewing among the people. In such conditions national feeling pervades everything: the economy and politics, culture and ideology. It compels people to idealize their own personal and intimate things, and incites them to seek the cause of misfortunes in external factors relating to other nations.

The phenomenon of "the enemy without" has often been used successfully by political adventurers of all times and all peoples. True, the fact that exploiting this phenomenon has always resulted in harsh tragedies for the people is forgotten. Ultimately, there was a bitter sobering-up. This, however, was always preceded by euphoria, intoxication, and a utopian concept that the triumph of a free, independent, and purified national spirit is indeed the chief condition for building a happy life.

We should take account of these circumstances when analyzing the situation in Lithuania, too. It would be foolish to reduce the whole affair to a matter of labelling and to whip up passions. It is a matter of something different: Why have such moods become possible? What was it that provided soil for centrifugal aspirations? What were the reasons for the idea of state independence becoming dominant in the republic's public consciousness?

This is no simple question, and in seeking an answer to it, one must note the presence of both objective and subjective factors. The national self-consciousness of the Lithuanian people is in many respects weighed down by

the difficult history of its mutual relations with the union state. We cannot and have no right to avoid recognizing the indisputable truth that the decades of Stalinist arbitrariness, crude distortion of the very meaning and form of socialism in our country, and the implanting, in the guises of a federation, of a harshly centralized state has had a most grave effect upon the nature of mutual relations between the nations and ethnic groups of the Soviet Union, and upon their moods. As a result of this, the very idea of federation was seriously compromised. The seeds of mistrust and prejudice towards the central authority and the heavy "hand of Moscow" were sown among the broad strata of the population, especially in the union republics.

The attempts of the peoples of the republics to make use of the opportunities opened up by perestroika, and their desire to test the reality of the principles of perestroika and the guarantees of independence, mutual respect, and freedom which it brings into the sphere of interethnic relations are in these conditions quite natural, in their own way.

All this is clear, just as it is clear also that nationalist separatist, and simply anti-Soviet elements, which have real representation in the motley political spectrum of social forces operating today in certain republics, have made active use of the current situation. Among these there are also forces that seriously dream of the restoration of bourgeois ways and indeed even of a return to former, far from democratic, extremely right-wing, authoritarian regimes that existed previously.

However, in the situation that has come about, there is also a subjective side which is of no mean importance. It reflects the inadequacy of the reaction to the real situation both on the part of local party organizations, party and state leaders, public organizations, and the mass media, as well as on the part of the central bodies.

I have already mentioned some of the mistakes that are being made here, citing the example of Lithuania. I would now like to return to one of them. What I am talking about is the use of the "national" theme as a method of gaining popularity among the broad masses. Incidentally, it is not only the leaders of Lithuania who have been successful in this direction. Certain representatives of other republics are also playing the part of "national communists" or "national-populists" today. But attempts to be "holier than the Pope of Rome" on nationalities issues dictate their own behavior logic by harsh necessity. They demand a rejection of fundamental positions which emasculates the essence of internationalism and healthy relations between people.

In essence, the leadership of the republic's party organization has become a hostage to those separatist minded forces which, under cover of slogans about the democratic renewal of socialism, would like to take the republic along a completely different road. Attempts to explain this position by references to the need to maintain national unity can hardly be taken as convincing.

Again and again we must ask the question: On what basis, for what purposes, and at what price do they want to guarantee the unity of the nation here?

If preserving or achieving this unity has to be paid for by a rejection of participation in the general movement of Soviet society along the road towards a new and renewed socialism; by a breach with the other peoples of the Soviet Union; and by a fundamental change of the values and the meaning of the historic choice of the people, then at the very least the people must be informed about this honestly and openly, as must the members of that party who joined the CPSU and who continue to consider themselves Communists.

III.

I would like to dwell on yet another factor which is today predetermining the behavior of some forces in Lithuania, and not just in that republic. In recent times on more than one occasion we have been coming up against circumstances which under traditional logic pushed the center into the implementation of extraordinary measures. Such are the events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Fergana, and Novyy Uzen, the blockade of Armenia, the clashes in Kishinev, certain outbursts by rightist organizations in Moscow, including those masquerading as leftist. [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 26 December in its Second Edition on pp 1-2 carries a similar item which renders the preceding sentence as follows: "Such have been the events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Fergana, and Novyy Uzen, the blockade of Armenia, the clashes in Kishinev, certain outbursts by 'rightist' organizations in Moscow, including those masquerading as 'leftist,' the Vorkuta miners' strike, and so on."]

We did indeed have to resort to extraordinary measures and to cutting short unlawful behavior when there was no other way of ensuring the security of citizens and halting the actions of hooligan elements. However, in all cases where we are dealing with demonstrations of the broad strata of the population, we have striven and do strive to use political means. And this is natural, for this corresponds to the very nature of socialism and perestroika, its humanist essence, its adherence to universal values.

But we know that we also have in our country those who champion other outlooks that proceed from the concepts of barracks socialism. Unfortunately, a certain reverence for and worship of strong authority that is capable of taking tough measures of suppression remains to this day in public opinion and among the people. From this stems the well-known cult of order, the cult of the strong arm, the reasoning about public consciousness not being prepared for democratic reforms, and assertions about democracy degenerating into mob rule, and so on.

Narrow-minded philosophy treats attachment to democratic and political methods as weakness of authority. One of the myths of the mass-consciousness that is found here is, in particular, the conviction that one can accuse the Stalin regime of whatever sins you like, but not that

of lacking an iron will and strong political authority. This is not simply an error but a failure to understand the very nature of Stalinism.

It is beyond dispute that the power of the leader was harsh and repressive, but it was not strong in the political sense. A strong power is not afraid of its own citizens, it does not instill an atmosphere of universal suspicion and denunciation, does not eliminate by means of total terror any free expression of thought. In general, terror, however it manifests itself, is the simplest and crudest, but at the same time a very ineffective method—one without a future—of regulating public life. In the final analysis, it is a sign of weakness.

The ideal of strong policies is not harshness and confrontation, but consensus and solidarity. Today, these are among the chief tasks of the day. From the height of the sociohistorical pass to which society has ascended one can see the straight, though difficult road—the path to human socialism, movement on the basis of consolidation of all the evident and the possible potential progressive forces, on the basis of civil peace and not civil war, on the basis of mutual respect, when the sides are ready to listen to one another, to make concessions to each other, and to understand the high value of sensible compromises.

We must also display such an approach, I think, when examining the situation that has come about in Lithuania. On the one hand, we must avoid any kind of ambiguities or leaving things unsaid. The current party and state leadership will not permit the decay of the union-based state. I want to state this at the plenum of the party Central Committee. I am saying this plainly. [applause]

The actions required to preserve the union-based state and to ensure its unity are a strict necessity, and here there should be no illusions concerning the center's intentions and capabilities.

And I think that I have already said this during my speech during the discussion of constitutional issues at the Congress of People's Deputies. But the position of the plenum of the party Central Committee is also important. In numerous messages to the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet, and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, Soviet citizens note with concern that the fanning of nationalistic passions and systematic activity to instill separatist sentiments in the public consciousness being implemented by a ramified network of various organizations in Lithuania take these actions outside the framework of Soviet laws and outside the USSR Constitution. In connection with this, there arises for me, as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the question of submitting to the country's supreme legislative organ the matter of the legitimacy of the existence within the state of organizations and political movements which carry out separatist activities and inflame national terror.

We cannot allow democracy and glasnost, which are designed to emancipate people and strengthen their security, to be employed to opposite ends—to divide the people, to intimidate and befuddle them. Democracy must be protected against this sort of speculation.

There is a very important international aspect to this whole problem. The existence of an integral, stable, and mighty Soviet Union is a pressing requirement of the times, and of the whole existing complicated system of international security. Nobody, comrades, could have an interest in its destruction, fraught as it is with the destabilization of the political situation in Europe and the world. This is understood in countries abroad, too—both by politicians and peoples. It is wonderful that people should be writing letters begging for the union to be retained and for the present leadership to be given the chance to move toward the objectives of perestroika. This same thing, really, is confirmed quite categorically during their contacts with us by the leaders of all the greatest states in the world, even including those on whose support our domestic separatists clearly would have liked to rely.

I am optimistic about the future of our multiethnic federal state. But we must press on down the road of its transformation and renewal. That is obligatory. Those are the two sides of the coin. And I link my optimism to renewal of the federation and to its replenishment with new content.

It is, in some sense, only now that perestroika has restored the natural democratic tendency to the political process in our country that the peoples of all republics must, on the basis of their own experience, their own requirements and interests, see for themselves the benefit and advantage accruing from their membership in a mighty Soviet Union. If you like, what we must do is win over the federation all over again, by restoring mutual trust and a realization of the advantages of integration. Good relations cannot be established by command or force. What lies ahead is lengthy and painstaking work. In the words of Lenin, on this road it is better for the center to overdo the concessions to national groupings than underdo them. That also must be borne in mind.

We truly want the creation of a full blooded federation in which all republics will be able to feel that they really are sovereign states. I have already talked about this and I deliberately want to repeat myself: up to now our state existed as a centralized and unitary state and none of us yet has the experience of living in a federation, and that is why we must not extrapolate from the present status of republics for their future position in the union. Evidently, under common principles, the place of every republic in a renewed federation will be unique to itself, taking into account the specifics of the region, each people, their culture and traditions.

We are putting together a legal base under the edifice of a federation. The creation of such foundations is intended to promote that package of vitally-important

draft laws which, as we calculate, will be adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet at the beginning of next year. But in order that the building should be a solid one, it must conform to the blueprint and be built without deviating from it or from the envisaged technical norms.

In this connection—and this is also a lesson from the situation in the Lithuanian party organization—the limits beyond which one must not go must be clearly outlined, for going beyond them means a pre-programmed disruption of efforts to build the federation: if you like, a disruption of perestroika as a whole.

One such limit is the impossibility of rejecting the single structure of the CPSU. Otherwise, our party would turn into an amorphous federalist club consisting of individual independent party groups. Is it not clear that if we cross that line it can be said that we will be deliberately taking matters in the direction of dismembering the USSR, and that is a historical impasse for all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

IV.

What kind of lessons do we need to draw from the decisions of the congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party? Undoubtedly this is a signal which shows that we need to accelerate the processes of perestroika also in the sphere of internal party life.

The main thing to be learned from this lesson is that we can no longer permit ourselves to lag behind the pace of events and changes which the party itself initiated.

And, comrades, we must all understand one every important thing: that the solution of all of our problems lies ahead of us and not behind us, that any attempts to slow down progress—behind which one can discern the illusory hope of turning back to the old ways—are not just counterproductive, but simply unrealistic. We have nowhere to go back to. In the years of perestroika the country has taken off and moved far forward. Any attempts to return it to the old times will result in losses for the party, losses of prestige and authority, and consequently of the capability of influencing present political life and, even more, of playing the vanguard role in it.

The party is capable of standing at the head of the people's social creativity, which is still to a great extent subjected to the influence of the events thrown up by history and of political emotions which at times surge beyond the limit of permissible democratic norms. But it is precisely for this reason that the creativity of the masses needs the guiding efforts of the political vanguard. The role of the political vanguard is difficult but essential and responsible work. History never gives anyone a mandate for permanent political leadership nor for absolute infallibility. On each occasion it is necessary to prove this right by knowledge of the people's needs and interests, by the ability to formulate them in realistic political language and convert them into sensible action.

To be the political vanguard means not to substitute authoritarian bureaucratic commands for the ability to find one's way in the complicated combination of what is subjectively desirable and objectively possible in the moods of various social strata and groups, in the objective directions of the activity of mass fronts, social organizations, unions, and so on. On the path toward acquiring the effective and democratic right to represent the people, the party must overcome internal party barriers of political passivity, pseudorevolutionary activism, relapses into a politicobureaucratic absence of culture, separatist moods, and conservatism. One must be aware that the party, just like society, is still only standing at the springs of renewal and bears within itself the burden of many administrative-command blemishes, but it has managed to preserve the basic socialist values of universal significance, and this is the guarantee of the success of its renewal.

It is not possible to determine the party's place in the vanguard, at the cutting edge of social renewal, by decree. This place should be, and can only be, the consequence of profound democratic transformations within the party itself, the result of the revival of Leninist norms of party life in new sociopolitical conditions. Any lagging behind, or attempts to avoid reacting to events, giving them a timely political evaluation and, most importantly, proposing our own, socialist outlook end up, as in the case of the Lithuanian situation, in the loss of political initiative, and help the opponents of perestroika present the party as a conservative force resisting changes.

We have embarked on the path of decisive democratic internal perestroika within the party itself, the path of preparation for the 28th congress, from which the CPSU must emerge as a renewed, democratic, and cohesive alliance of like thinkers. It is only a dynamic and bold party, one which assesses soberly both itself and the world around it, that can be a cementing force for society and the soul of perestroika—only a party which sees the sense of its activities not in serving itself, but in serving its people, one which will preserve and strengthen the unity of its ranks for the sake of achieving the real, practical results that are expected of it by its members and by the working people of the whole of our immense, multinational country.

This process is one of the most important component parts of perestroika. Here I would like to say that we undervalue what has already been achieved by perestroika. Yes, the country continues to be in a difficult position. Yes, perestroika has not yet brought tangible results in a whole range of vital issues of our life. But what about what it has already given us—freedom of expression, of creativity, of initiative, including in the political sphere? Is that really so little? Were we not truly choking quite recently, being smothered in the atmosphere of stagnation, of paralysis of thought and deed; were we not dreaming of a gulp of freedom as the most heartfelt thing?

Of course, freedom is not anarchistic self-will and doing as you please, while trampling on all the norms of society. It is acutely needed as a spiritual state of society and the individual. We need it also as a stimulus for more creative labor and as a component of enterprise and initiative, as a foundation for discipline, and hence as a precursor of big results and changes along the roads of perestroika. And from this point of view, I think, it is our duty to see the lofty and promising significance of political and economic reform and renewal of ideology.

We have begun the great cause of transformations, moral purification, and moral rebirth. And here is a serious psychological paradox: in accomplishing a gigantic turn-about in the public consciousness, and setting a juggernaut in motion, we are now beginning to frighten ourselves, to frighten one another and society with the inevitable accompanying difficulties which are arising on the great path of perestroika. I do not want to go any more deeply into this at present. A wide-ranging and detailed discussion is ahead of us at the forthcoming party congress, and in the near future, as we have agreed, during discussion of the draft political platform for the pre-congress discussions at the January Central Committee plenum. I have touched upon this topic today because this sort of panic mood on the part of some party committees engenders the confusion that has led the leaders of Lithuania to the present situation. This is also taking place, and it is another lesson not only for the Communists of Lithuania, but for all of us.

We believe that millions of working people of the Soviet Union, Communists and non-party people, duly appraise the enterprising role and contribution of our party to the historic changes taking place in Soviet society, to restoring its dynamism, the creative principle, and international prestige. We believe in the integrating force of the idea of perestroika, which is capable of effectively and reliably uniting into a single whole the energy and efforts of Soviet Communists of diverse nationalities, and of thereby strengthening our free, voluntary union on a healthy and stable foundation—the mutual trust of all our nations.

And in this historic and revolutionary process, the role of the CPSU is irreplaceable. The fate of perestroika lies in the unity of the CPSU [applause]

Gorbachev Lithuania Visit Suggested

LD2612151189 Moscow TASS in English 1504 GMT
26 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 26 TASS—At an extraordinary plenum today, the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party continued to discuss the decisions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania, which has proclaimed its independence.

The plenum passed a resolution fully approving the assessments and conclusions contained in General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's report. The plenum expressed confidence that the Communists and working

people of Lithuania will understand the Central Committee's concern over the situation in the republican Communist Party.

The resolution points to the need for a group of plenum participants—including alternate and full members of the Politburo, secretaries and alternate and full members of the Central Committee—to leave for Lithuania to meet rank-and-file Communists, party officials and work collectives of the republic.

The plenum also deemed it advisable that General Secretary Gorbachev make a trip to Lithuania.

This work having been carried out, the Central Committee will convene again to take a decision, the resolution says.

Gorbachev made the concluding speech at the plenum.

Journalist Cited on Gorbachev Lithuanian Visit

*AU2612135489 Paris AFP in English 1333 GMT
26 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow, Dec 26 (AFP)—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev is shortly to go to Lithuania to discuss the situation of local Communists who have broken with Moscow, a Lithuanian journalist said Tuesday, contacted in Vilnius by telephone.

Mr. Gorbachev would travel to the Lithuanian capital with other Soviet members of the ruling Politburo and of the policymaking Central Committee, which has just wound up a two-day session here.

The journalist said the Soviet leadership would hold talks with Lithuanian Communists following the Baltic state's party congress decision last week to split with the central Communist Party in Moscow.

During the plenum in Moscow devoted to the situation in Lithuania after the local Communists' decision, Mr. Gorbachev had declared the split illegal.

The journalist in the Lithuanian capital said that according to Lithuanian leader Algirdas Brazauskas, the plenum adopted Mr. Gorbachev's report.

Lithuanian Congress Proceedings Reported

1705 GMT 22 Dec

LD2212191989

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1705 GMT on 22 December resumes its live relay of the Lithuanian Communist Party Congress session in Vilnius. The Vilnius radio announcer says that the list of candidates to the Central Committee has been compiled and that there are about 170 names on the list. He says voting will start in 3-4 hours. In the meantime, the party action program will be discussed by the congress. The results of the elections to the Central Committee will be made public tomorrow, he says.

At 1715 GMT, an announcement is made by Romas Gudaitis, in which he says that delegate Kogan from Estonia announced at the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow that A. Brazauskas was quoted by some Western radio stations as inviting the Baltic Communist Parties to fight against the CPSU. The congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party denies this, saying that the lofty rostrum of the Congress of the USSR People's Deputies was used by delegate Kogan with the intention of deliberately discrediting the Lithuanian Communist Party.

Gudaitis reads the text of the message from the Lithuanian Communist Party Congress to the Congress of People's Deputies. The text of the message is as follows.

"To the Second Congress of the USSR People's Deputies, Moscow, the Kremlin:

"The delegates to the 20th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party express their resolute protest concerning a statement by Deputy Kogan about a statement allegedly made by Comrade Brazauskas, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, to a Western broadcasting station. This statement is a remeditated invention. The congress expresses its regret that the people's deputy of the USSR uses this lofty rostrum to spread deliberately false information and create a distorted public opinion about the events in Lithuania and the decisions of the 20th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party. We ask that this message be made public at the congress."

"Delegates to 20th Congress of Lithuanian Communist Party"

At 1718 GMT, the rules for debates on the party action program are decided.

At 1735 GMT, the discussion of the program begins. Delegates are asked to avoid discussing economic problems because these will be discussed in detail at a special plenum in the nearest future.

At 1755 GMT, a proposal is made to discontinue the discussions as all proposals concerning the action program should be submitted in written form to the committee. The discussion of these proposals will be discussed tomorrow, it is announced.

Another deputy proposes: As the ballots for the Central Committee will not be ready before midnight, the delegates are requested to come back to vote. The ballots will be counted during the night. The results will be known by 0800 GMT tomorrow morning when the congress resumes its work. These proposals are accepted by the majority of votes. The live relay ends at 1815 GMT.

0800 GMT 23 Dec

LD2312123689

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0800 GMT on 23 December begins carrying a

live relay of the Lithuanian Communist Party Congress in Vilnius. The session begins with an announcement by the Vote Counting Commission on the outcome of the vote for the Central Committee. Each name on the list is read, along with the number of votes the delegate received.

All the delegates received overwhelming support, thus the proposed composition of the Central Committee is elected.

At 0840 GMT, debates on the program resume. An unnamed delegate voices concern that the list of names of those delegates who voted against the independent Lithuanian Communist Party was published by the Sajudis paper RESPUBLIKA, which he claims, is in violation of the congress' decision not to submit the names for publication. Lionginas Sepetys, chairman of the session, says he does not remember a specific decision not to reveal the names. Everyone agrees. The complaint is dismissed.

At 0846 GMT, delegate Matulevicius voices concern that it is not clear what the delegates are supposed to tell the Lithuanian people and Lithuanian Communist Party members when they return from this congress. He says the political situation is such that the Lithuanian Communist Party and Sajudis will continue to campaign for votes in the elections.

An attempt then is made to return to debates on the party's economic platform. At this point, Kestutis Glaveckas, supported by the majority, says on-the-spot debates on very complex issues such as this will not produce the desired results. A decision is adopted that the newly elected Central Committee will prepare the issue for discussion and invite delegates to join a discussion to take place at the beginning of January next year.

At 0900 GMT, Deputy Zaliauskas, second secretary of the Vilnius Spalis Rayon City Committee, asks what is the position of the Lithuanian Communist Party members and those sitting at a conference of their own at the Vilnius Spalis Rayon City Committee.

After several delegates voice the same concern, a decision is adopted that a resolution on implementation of the Lithuanian Communist Party statute should be explicitly stated and given a clear solution.

At 0905 GMT, delegate Kasauskine, reads the text of the resolution, which is later adopted by the congress.

At 0915 GMT, Liudas Truska, well-known historian, gives a report about the past and future of the party. He says all mistakes committed by the Lithuanian Communist Party in the past were not just mistakes, some were crimes against the Lithuanian nation. The Lithuanian Communist Party should admit this and take responsibility for these crimes.

At 0930 GMT, the issue of what to do when delegates return to their working places is raised again. A question is asked as to what is their legal position as party workers.

At 0940 GMT, a resolution about implementation of the statute of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party is read. After some debate, the resolution is adopted at 0945 GMT.

At 0945 GMT, delegate Nekrosius, from Raseiniai, proposes a resolution to enable Brazauskas to defend the party's positions. The resolution is an appeal to the CPSU Central Committee saying the Lithuanian nation and the Lithuanian Communist Party cannot and will not remain passive observers while the awakening of nations and a tide of political changes toward democracy in Eastern Europe takes place.

It is decided that this declaration or appeal can be adopted reserving the right to edit it, so that no ambiguous sentences or statements could later be found and used against the Lithuanian Communist Party.

At 1003 GMT, the text of telegrams to be sent to Communists in Romania, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, etc. are discussed.

At 1014 GMT, Brazauskas begins his concluding speech.

At 1033 GMT, Brazauskas concludes. The anthem of the Lithuanian Republic is sung.

Brazauskas' 20th Congress Concluding Speech

LD2312165389 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1014 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Speech by Algirdas-Mikolas Brazauskas, first secretary of Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, concluding 20th Congress of Lithuanian Communist Party, on 23 December—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Earlier, the party was locked in. Very little was known about the internal life of the party, about the internal contradictions and collisions which existed within the party. Little was known about individual people because the standard phrase was "the party has decided," "the party believes that," and so on. Individual people and workers of the party apparatus spoke quite often in the name of the party. [passage omitted]

Tomorrow, early in the morning, we are leaving for Moscow where the plenum will take place to discuss the consequences of the 20th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party. Comrade Gorbachev will make a report. We have received an official invitation to this plenum. I think we who have been invited—Comrades Sakalauskas, Astrauskas, Beriozovas, and myself—will, perhaps, see that some other people receive invitations today. We are leaving for Moscow in the mood of the congress. We are aware of the mood of all Lithuania. We understand the concern and our great responsibility.

Therefore, I ask everybody to be calm, I ask everybody not to jump to hurried conclusions in the cities and rayons to which you will now return. I hope that we will be understood. We have explained why we have chosen this path at the Politburo, at the Commission for Baltic Republics, and personally to Mikhail Gorbachev. What reasons were behind this? We said that this was not a whim of some people or an individual leader or first secretary. We said that this decision was based on the logic of the reality of life, that the Lithuanian Communist Party had no other choice. [passage omitted]

Brazauskas Interviewed on Party Policy

*LD2312173589 Moscow World Service in English
0810 GMT 23 Dec 89*

[Report on interview with Algirdas Brazauskas, Lithuanian Communist Party first secretary, by unidentified correspondent in Vilnius; date not given; Brazauskas speaks in Lithuanian with superimposed English translation—recorded]

[Excerpts] The extraordinary congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party has decreed the party an independent political organization which will seek to maintain partnership with the CPSU—that's the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—and other parties, public associations, and movements. Before passing a resolution to that effect, the congress had gone through heated debates over the matter, which had flared up right after the opening. [passage omitted]

In an interval between sessions, our reporter asked First Secretary Algirdas Brazauskas whether that decision would not be a step toward splitting the party apart:

[Brazauskas] There is no term split in our program and we do not intend to introduce it since we don't view that as our goal. We will work to turn the Communist Party into an independent political force that could flexibly operate in the difficult conditions of the newly emerging multiparty system in Lithuania. That will compel us to look for new forms and methods of work and adopt an attractive program in which the people will have confidence.

Algirdas Brazauskas then described his vision for the Lithuanian Communist Party's future in the republic's political life:

[Brazauskas] The humanitarian goals we've set before our party will be pursued—in the final analysis by all of the other parties too—only their tactics will be different. In my report, I urged all of the republics political forces to form a united front, to promote change in Lithuania's state structure and status. At present, none of the political organizations in Lithuania, with the exception of the Communist Party, is capable of forming a parliament or a government. I think, however, that this work could be better done through the combined efforts of all rather than through having the various parties compete with each other or attempting to attain their own particular

objectives. I don't think that the latter option will be in Lithuania's interests. What we have to do today is to elect an efficient parliament and form an efficient government irrespective of the party affiliation of the would-be cabinet members.

Lithuanian Resolution on Statute Implementation

*LD2312163289 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian
0940 GMT 23 Dec 89*

[Resolution on implementation of Lithuanian Communist Party statute read by delegate Damanskis of Statute Commission at 23 December session of 20th Congress of Lithuanian Communist Party—live]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] All Communists registered in the party's books in this republic are members of the Lithuanian Communist Party. The Lithuanian Communist Party remains owner of the property of the ex-Lithuanian party organization of the CPSU. The rules and program ceased to be valid in the party organizations of Lithuania from 21 December of the current year after the statute and the program were confirmed by the Congress. [applause] Further activity and work by the Lithuanian Communist Party is organized along the lines defined by the statute, the program, and other documents adopted at the 20th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party. Communists who do not support the program documents of the Lithuanian Communist Party, or who for any other reason do not wish to remain members of the Lithuanian Communist Party, must leave the party according to the rules defined by the statute until 30 March 1990. [passage omitted]

Lithuanian CP Appeals to CPSU for Understanding

*LD2312235189 Vilnius in English to North America
2300 GMT 23 Dec 89*

[Text] The 20th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party has adopted an appeal to the forthcoming CPSU plenum. The appeal says that the majority of Lithuanian Communists as well as the Lithuanian public at large supports the reorganizing of the Lithuanian Communist Party into an independent one. The appeal expresses the hope that the Communists of the Soviet Union will understand and support the step toward independence taken by the Lithuanian Communists.

The newly-elected Central Committee of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party has held its first plenary meeting this afternoon. A bureau of 15 of the Central Committee was elected.

Lithuanian Communist 'Crimes,' 'Mistakes' Noted

*LD2312154689 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian
0915 GMT 23 Dec 89*

[Remarks by Liudas Truska, historian and lecturer at Vilnius University, concerning Lithuanian Communist Party's past, at 23 December session of 20th Congress of Lithuanian Communist Party—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] If we ourselves do not tell the truth, then our opponents will remind us of it every day. The truth is, our predecessor, the Lithuanian organization of the CPSU, during the entire period of its 70-year existence, was too indifferent or even hostile to the vital interests of the Lithuanian nation, the most important of which was to have our own state. [passage omitted]

Some would prefer to see it that way, that only mistakes were committed in the past. Unfortunately, heavy crimes were also committed.

Ignoring the right of the nation to self-determination in 1918 was a mistake, but inviting Russian Red Army troops into Lithuania was a crime committed by the Lithuanian Communist Party, although this army was already on its way without an invitation. Nonrecognition of the Lithuanian republic in the thirties and forties was a mistake, but active help rendered to Vladimir Dekanozov in the liquidation of the Lithuanian nation's statehood in 1940 was a crime. Denying national interests and making the issue of class contradictions absolute was a mistake. However, deporting Lithuanian people from their homeland was a crime. Overestimating the importance of huge state farms and maintaining that private property is not a great stimulus in economic activity was a theoretical mistake. However, forced collectivization and removal of farmers from their land was a crime. The theoretical concept about two cultures, proletarian and bourgeoisie, was a mistake. However, burning books and destroying cultural monuments was a crime. [passages omitted]

Until 1940, the Lithuanian Communist Party was virtually a sect several hundred members strong and only half of them were Lithuanians. The intelligentsia avoided this party. At the beginning of 1941, Communists with higher education comprised only 1 percent, however, members with primary and unfinished primary education comprised 90 percent of the entire membership of the Lithuanian Communist Party. During the postwar period, the Lithuanian Communist Party was growing in quantity rather rapidly. In 1945, it had 3,500 members but in 1950 it already had 28,000.

However, let us have a look at how these ranks were growing. In 1948, Lithuanians comprised only 18 percent of all the party members, Poles comprised only 0.5 percent of the membership of the Lithuanian Communist Party. About 80 percent of the Communists in this republic were not local people; they were sent in or arrived from Russia, Belorussia, and the Ukraine. The foreigners comprised 90 percent of all the staff of the state security system. In the nomenklatura of the republican administration, the indigenous population of this republic comprised only one-third. Most of those Communists who were sent in were ardent Stalinists, fathers and grandfathers of the present-day internationalists. Anything that was related to Lithuanian culture or life was regarded by them as nationalism, clericalism, kulakism. Given that, we have every ground to state that the

Lithuanian Communist Party of the postwar period was not an organization of local Communists, but an organization of foreigners. [passage omitted]

However, the cause for all these misfortunes, deformations, and crimes by the Lithuanian Communist Party was the fact that the party was not independent. We know that Antanas Snieckus asked Malenkov not to hurry Lithuanians with collectivization. And, what answer was he given? The decisions of the Politburo are not for discussion, they are for execution.

Let us take the policy on cadres. After the 20th Congress of the CPSU when the thaw began, some internationalists who did not manage to learn the language of the local people in 15 years had to leave Lithuania. But, how did it end? A strong thundering noise was heard from Moscow. In 1961, Antanas Snieckus had to wear sackcloth and ashes at the 13th Plenum of the Lithuanian Communist Party to repent for mistakes committed by the cadres policy. The secretary for ideology, Vladas Niunka, had to leave his post. [passage omitted]

Who can tell now how many good ideas and intentions were abandoned and buried because of the same question: What will Moscow say? [passage omitted]

Lithuanian Resolution on Past 'Crimes'

LD2312141689 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0905 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Resolution on implementation of Lithuanian Communist Party statute read by delegate Kasauskine at 23 December session of 20th Congress of Lithuanian Communist Party—live]

[Excerpts] We propose to adopt a statement which reads as follows:

A statement of the 20th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party concerning mistakes and crimes committed by the Lithuanian Communist Party in the past. [passage omitted]

The road of the party from the beginning until now has been given a critical assessment by the 20th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party. The past of the Lithuanian Communist Party is both dramatic and painful; its history is controversial and instructive. [passage omitted] A heavy burden of political and moral responsibility has been inherited by the Lithuanian Communist Party from Stalinist times. The collapse of the Lithuanian Republic as a result of annexation and occupation of the country, devastation of the traditional way of life and national culture, mass deportations of the population and killings, was the essence of the Stalinist totalitarian regime. Unfortunately, the executioner of the same policy was also the Lithuanian Communist Party and later a constituent part of the CPSU. Although it is painful to admit, there is no disputing the fact that among the officials who arrived from other republics,

local communists also worked in the Stalinist administrative apparatus of compulsion, in the organs of repression, where they blindly executed the policy of Stalinist genocide, thus committing crimes against our nation and humanity.

We cannot change the past; we have no right to amend history. Today, we understand that it was not on one occasion that the essence and the direction of the policies of the Lithuanian Communist Party were decided by the objectively existing conditions. [passage omitted] The Lithuanian Communists categorically dissociate themselves from those party members who committed crimes against the nation and humanity despite the conditions which existed or their personal motives on which they based their actions. [passage omitted]

CPSU Issue

*LD2212202589 Moscow TASS in English 1956 GMT
22 Dec 89*

[Text] Vilnius December 22 TASS—By special TASS correspondents Anatoliy Aladinskiy, Yuriy Sizov, and Kazis Uscila:

The 20th congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party, having voted on Wednesday to reorganise into an independent party, has sent a telegram to the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. It seeks to assure that this step does not signify a split from the Soviet Communist Party.

At the same time, Soviet Communist Party Central Committee chief Mikhail Gorbachev, in yesterday's telegram to the party forum of the Lithuanian communists, assessed the Congress's decision as a step aimed at the secession of the Lithuanian Communist Party from the Soviet Communist Party.

The telegram from the Lithuanian Congress says that decisions on the independence of the Lithuanian Communist Party, adopted by the congress, do not signify a split in the party. They seek new intra-party decisions, and are prompted by the sincere desire to contribute to the widening and deepening of perestroika.

There were more radical statements made at the congress. Rimantas Lauzikas, secretary of the Party Committee of the Panevezys Plant of Automatic Compressors, believes that the Lithuanian Communist Party has never been independent and cannot be independent as long as Lithuanian Communists are members of the Soviet Communist Party.

The same thought was expressed by Algis Rimas, first secretary of the Marijampole City committee of the Party.

"Our future depends on whether or not the party is independent and on its resolve to promote the creation of a democratic, socialist and independent Lithuanian State", he said.

But other Lithuanian Communists take a different view of the future of the party and the republic and of the work of the Congress.

Asked by TASS about the political consequences of this splitting of the ranks of the Lithuanian Communist Party, Valentin Khadunkin, secretary of the Party Committee of Electrophysics Research Institute, said that "the party can be split, but work collectives in Lithuania cannot. One should be aware of this and should restrain from deepening the split. There is a need for consolidation on the basis of Communist ideals, common human values."

Khadunkin believes that the Congress's decisions were taken under strong pressure from "too impatient" delegates and were prompted by the expectations of part of the Lithuanian public.

Obvious disagreement with the Congress's decisions was demonstrated when a Party Conference of Communist Delegates supporting the platform of the Soviet Communist Party was held on Thursday as an alternative to the congress.

The conference decided to form on December 23 provisional leading bodies of the Lithuanian communist Party within the Soviet Communist Party.

Direct elections of the first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central committee were held late Thursday evening. The only candidate, Algirdas Brazauskas, 57, was re-elected first secretary by secret ballot.

The congress continues.

TASS Reports Lithuanian Communist Party Split

*LD2312175189 Moscow TASS in English 1717 GMT
23 Dec 89*

[Text] Vilnius December 23 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Anatoliy Aladinskiy and Yuriy Sizov:

The forecasts that on the eve of its 20th congress the 200,000- strong party organisation of Lithuania was about to split have materialised. The party forum of Lithuanian communists wound up in Vilnius on Saturday after forming two alternative central committees.

At the Lithuanian Opera and Ballet Theater, the delegates congratulated each other on the creation of an independent Communist Party of Lithuania, led by Algirdas Brazauskas. Several hours earlier participants in the alternative party conference of communists, who advocated unity with the CPSU, had elected a Provisional Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania.

In fact a new party has been formed in the republic, even though the delegates who voted at the congress for giving full independence to the Lithuanian Communist Party said the point at issue was not a split of the party. It is a party with its own rules and programme, different from

the CPSU platform. The step made by the Lithuanian Communist Party towards independence is one of the milestones on the road towards a democratic, socialist and independent Lithuanian state, its leaders say.

Proponents of the other Lithuanian Communist Party advocate unity with the CPSU. They kept the pre-congress platform of the Communist Party of Lithuania.

The party conference said in a resolution that "the documents adopted by the 20th congress testify to a gap between the reorganised party and the political and organisational principles of the Marxist-Leninist party, to the rejection of the political line of the 27th Congress of the CPSU." The conference believes that the reorganised party cannot continue the cause of the Communist Party of Lithuania which was set up in 1918 and exists to this day.

Speaking about its nearest plans, Secretary Micolas Burokjavicus told TASS that the newly elected provisional Central Committee should adopt a new programme of actions in January-February next year, hold city and regional party meetings in order to elect governing bodies and delegates to an extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania.

IZVESITYA Reports End of Lithuanian Congress

*PM2312202589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 12*

[Report by TASS correspondents A. Aladinskiy, Yu. Sizov, and K. Ustila: "At 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress"]

[Text] Vilnius, 22 Dec—The acute political debate which developed at the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress and lasted for 4 days, ended today with the adoption of the program and statute of what was reorganized into an autonomous Lithuanian Communist Party. Appraising these decisions, A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, said: "Perestroyka has touched the Lithuanian Communist Party, but this is under no circumstances a question of a split or any separatist sentiments."

But delegates spoke more frankly during the debate. In the opinion of R. Lauzhikas, secretary of the Panevezhis engine-driven compressor plant party committee, the Lithuanian Communist Party never has been autonomous since its very formation, nor can it be autonomous for as long as its Communists are members of the CPSU.

However, there are also other views of the party's and the republic's future and of the work of the congress within the republic's party organization.

Obvious disagreement with the congress decisions can be seen in the holding of a party conference as alternative congress by Communist delegates committed to the CPSU platform. They abstained from taking part in the voting on the adoption of the Lithuanian Communist

Party program and statute, justifying their decision by the fact that they have no right to vote for the documents of a different autonomous party.

Replying to TASS correspondents' questions on the political consequences of the de facto split within the Lithuanian Communist Party's ranks, congress delegate V. Khadunkin, secretary of the Electrography Scientific Research Institute party committee, said that it is possible to divide the party but it is impossible to divide Lithuania's labor collectives. Proceeding from this premise, the split should not be deepened and there ought to be consolidation on the basis of universal communist ideals and universal human values. In his opinion, the congress decision was made under the powerful influence of delegates who were too "impatient" and of a section of the Lithuanian public whose expectations had predisposed them toward bias.

With the agenda changed and the procedure for forming elected party organs amended, direct elections of first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee were held late last night. As a result of a secret ballot, 57-year-old A. Brazauskas, who ran unopposed, was elected.

Three Central Committee secretaries were elected at the Friday morning sitting. V. Berezov, who also ran unopposed, was elected second secretary.

The party conference of supporters of the CPSU platform, as an alternative to the congress, decided to proceed with forming leadership organs of the Lithuanian Communist Party within the CPSU on Saturday 23 December.

Tbilisi Riot Inquiry's Findings To Date

*PM1512090189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 13 Dec 89 Single Edition p 4*

[Interview with Major General of Justice V. Vasilyev, deputy chief military prosecutor, by N. Belan: "Inquiry Discloses"; date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Following the interview shown on Leningrad television last Friday with Colonel of Justice V. Matus and Lieutenant Colonel of Justice Yu. Bagrayev—senior investigators dealing with particularly important cases under the chief military prosecutor—we received numerous telephone calls at the editorial office. People asked the following question: Well, is the inquiry into April's events in Tbilisi over? We put these and other questions from our readers to Major General of Justice V. Vasilyev, deputy chief military prosecutor and chief of the chief military prosecutor's Investigation Administration, who, on the instructions of the USSR prosecutor general, is supervising the precise execution of the law during the inquiry into the criminal case against officials in the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] internal troops and the Soviet Army, who were involved in the events of 9 April 1989.

[Vasilyev] No, the inquiry is continuing; however, it has already established most of the fundamental elements. But before mentioning them, I want to explain something. As is well known, the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies decided not to publish or broadcast any material regarding events in Tbilisi before the commission it set up had completed its work. I hope the reason for this is clear. However, some mass media, particularly Georgian mass media, failed to act on this decision. Even A.A. Sobchak himself, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet commission investigating events in Tbilisi, gave an interview, for instance, to Georgian and Leningrad Television and, to put it mildly, interpreted the facts in a peculiar fashion, sometimes even falsely. To be objective, he could have used the inquiry material; however, he refused to do that.

What has the inquiry established?

The events of 9 April 1989 in Tbilisi stemmed from complex and contradictory processes. Nationalist forces, which joined the ranks of informal organizations, sharply stepped up their activity in 1988.

Gradually kindling tension, the leaders of these associations replaced their slogans with nationalist slogans and overtly propagandized ideas of chauvinism, national exclusivity, and degradation of other nations and ethnic groups. They demanded that Georgia be granted full independence and leave the "...Russian-Soviet empire, which is now continuing the Romanovs' course of great-power chauvinism," and set themselves the ultimate goal of "overthrowing the existing authorities in the republic, which are under Moscow's thumb."

Apart from anything else, the "Georgian National Independence Party" included in its program and actively strove to secure support for such demands as the entry of foreign troops into Georgia, its admission into the NATO bloc as an ally, and the abolition of the South Ossetian and Abkhazian autonomous formations.

As of 4 April numerous incessant anti-Soviet, antisocialist, and nationalist rallies began to be held in front of Government House. Following appeals from their leaders, a group of young people staged a hunger strike on 5 April. Picketing was organized at higher educational establishments with a view to preventing students and teachers from entering lecture theaters—to ensure they took part in the demonstration—and an appeal was read out, asking the U.S. Congress and NATO countries to help Georgia leave the USSR. There were numerous slogans and anti-Soviet and anti-Russian posters at the rallies: "The USSR—Jail of the Peoples!"; "Russians, Get Out of Georgia!"; and so on.

On the morning of 8 April groups of people began to arrive at Government House, along with pupils and teachers from middle and senior grades at general schools. The speeches continued to issue an ultimatum, demanding "full independence," along with appeals for "national insubordination." The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] state flag was ostentatiously

ripped off the facade of the Artists' Center and replaced by the Menshevik republic's flag.

The inquiry is informed that the square received prompt notification of the possibility of the rally being suppressed by force and of a troop contingent arriving in Tbilisi. In response the speakers urged the demonstrators to "die for the sake of the people" and frequently called for "bloodshed." There is also the following evidence: "At approximately 1600 hours 8 April I heard thousands of people outside Government House chanting: 'Sieg heil!' I saw many people drunk and I saw metal bars lying on the ground..."

The numerous materials, documents, and evidence at the inquiry's disposal attest to the extreme pitch of the passions and the aggressive state of the demonstrators, which justified and necessitated the decision adopted 8 April to suppress the unauthorized rally in Tbilisi. I emphasize that many of the actions committed by those involved in the rally and their leaders were illegal. Attempts to warn people against further illegal actions were in vain.

[Belan] You mentioned suppressing an unauthorized rally. Does this mean that this use of force, which could have resulted in casualties, was planned?

[Vasilyev] No, it does not. Major General Yu. Yefimov, representative of the USSR MVD, and Sh. Gorgodze, Georgian minister of internal affairs, elaborated a plan that was approved by Colonel General I. Rodionov. This plan made provision for operations units from MVD internal troops to empty the square in front of Government House of demonstrators. As they were cleared paratroop regiment subunits should have taken government establishments under their protection and sealed off the streets adjoining the boulevard. Two motorized rifle regiment internal troop battalions were to have gone onto the square from the side streets adjacent to Government House, separated the hunger-strikers on the steps from those involved in the rally, and, lastly, arranged for them to be evacuated. Georgian MVD State Automobile Inspection staffers were instructed to unblock the streets adjoining the boulevard that had been sealed off by buses and trucks put there previously by demonstrators on the instruction of the rally organizers. Georgian MVD forces were also given other tasks, but they failed to carry out a single one of them.

This considerably complicated the actions taken by the forces of law and order. Resistance paralyzed the actions of motorized rifle regiment battalions, which were unable to get onto the square and defend the hunger strikers from the demonstrators. In addition, shortly before the operation militia staffers received an order from Georgia's minister of internal affairs calling off the arrest of the rally's leaders and activists, for which provision had been made previously, yet it was they who organized the active opposition to the servicemen while the demonstrators were being cleared.

Lack of coordination in the actions taken by the internal troop command prevented special militia detachments and higher militia school students from arriving at the appointed time (they were an hour late).

Thus, if everything had been done as planned and there had been no resistance from the demonstrators, such consequences would not have ensued

[Belan] However, a tragedy did take place. How did this happen?

[Vasilyev] Let me recall that the participants in the rally ignored the appeals from Lieutenant Colonel R. Gvent-sadze, chief of Tbilisi's Internal Affairs Administration, who made a speech at 1500 hours 9 April warning them that if the rally continued it would be suppressed by troops. They also ignored the appeal made by Patriarch of All Georgia Catholicos Ilya II. After several warnings that force would be used and when it became quite obvious that troops and equipment were coming to carry out their mission (they were 200 meters away from the demonstrators), music and singing began to be heard on the square via the loudspeaker system at 1550 hours and small groups of people began to dance in individual areas of the boulevard.

The clearing (note, they were not beaten up and so on) of the demonstrators began at 1600 hours 9 April. Before coming into contact with the demonstrators, paratroop subunits were showered with rocks, bottles, and other objects, which action seriously injured six people. Internal troops were given particularly frenzied resistance outside Government House. Moreover, the inquiry has ascertained the authenticity of claims that this resistance was organized by specially-trained detachments of physically fit men and sportsmen with a knowledge of combat tactics.

The demonstrators employed rocks, bottles, wooden battering rams, and metal bars, pikes, knives, ends of metal pipe, and home-made explosive and incendiary devices they had made in advance, and so on.

[Belan] Did servicemen use sapper's shovels? I read that they hacked women to pieces and men were also injured.

[Vasilyev] Yes, in self-defense against the attackers; the assault troopers acted within the bounds of necessary defense and in several cases used small infantry shovels. After briefly coming into contact with the demonstrators (for approximately 10 minutes) the assault troopers performed only protective functions and were not involved in further clearing the demonstrators.

Claims that the dead were killed by sapper's shovels have not been confirmed in the course of the inquiry. Here are the figures produced by the review: 18 people died from mechanical asphyxiation as a result of crushed rib cages (two died in the hospital after 9 April), and one person, a man, died from serious craniocerebral injuries sustained from a blow with a hard blunt instrument while he

was attacking servicemen using karate. The USSR Ministry of Health Forensic Medicine Research Institute's conclusions regarding the cause of death of the demonstrators as a result of mechanical asphyxiation correspond with other evidence, including the conclusion of judicial chemical, physical, and toxicological examinations.

Certainly, seven men were injured with sapper's shovels. Of them, two sustained less serious bodily injuries, while five sustained slight injuries which entailed short-term disorders. But I would draw your attention to the fact that this is totally at variance with the figures that were being bandied about. I repeat: The inquiry ascertained that the reports of a large number of casualties with injuries caused by sapper's shovels does not accord with reality, especially the rumors about women allegedly being killed.

[Belan] What conclusion did the inquiry reach about the "use of poisonous gases"?

[Vasilyev] I must point out that no war gases were used, only special lacrimatory and irritant substances were used. This is what happened. After the square was cleared of demonstrators, not only did resistance to the forces of law and order not cease but it began to assume a more embittered character. More than 40 servicemen were injured and put out of action. (A total of 189 servicemen were injured during these events). Then special "cheremukha" (27 units) containing chloracetophenone and three units of K-51 containing CS were employed. They are not chemical weapons. In the United States and other countries CS is ranked among the so-called "police gases." Let me also note that a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree of 28 July 1988 makes provision for the use of special means. The arguments set out were confirmed by UN experts.

[Belan] Might not a vast concentration of these gases have built up?

[Vasilyev] No. In view of the weather conditions, the special means used did not create a life-threatening concentration of gas. According to UN expert Gorbovskiy [name as transliterated], this could only have happened if 30,000 units of "cheremukha" and K-51 had been fired simultaneously.

[Belan] But it is well known that, according to a Georgian Health Ministry report, more than 4,000 people sought medical help for poisoning.

[Vasilyev] We have checked out these data. Hitherto, experts have produced their findings with regard to 1,100 people, who were diagnosed as follows: Experts confirmed that only 30 people had been poisoned in connection with troops' use of the special means "cheremukha" and K-51. Experts are continuing their studies. However, it has now been established that the Georgian Health Ministry and representatives of informal organizations and other interested parties deliberately distorted the truth about the real consequences of the use of

special means. Distorted, occasionally false reports were circulated widely by the mass media.

Nor do the claims that the troops allegedly used chloropicrin correspond with reality. Neither the Soviet Army nor the MVD internal troops have products containing chloropicrin designed for such purposes.

[Belan] Nonetheless, why did so many people seek help for poisoning?

[Vasilyev] The circulation of distorted reports, which I have just mentioned, resulted in many healthy people coming to medical establishments—the so-called “post-disaster syndrome” was at work—and medical officers unwarrantedly diagnosing the presence of “poisons.” Moreover, those poisoned included psychopaths, neurasthenics, and people with food and other domestic poisoning. Some 272 fictitious people were also discovered on this list, and in addition the same people were counted several times. Those “poisoned” also included people with nervous and psychical manifestations, lesions of the central nervous system, cardiovascular illnesses, along with diseases which, if they were due to any toxins, had no connection with the events of 9 April. There was talk of a large number of so-called “casualties.” Why was this? I believe it was to stir up public opinion with regard to the more dangerous consequences of using special means.

The inquiry also demonstrated that there were also numerous cases of additional “poisoning” in the area around Rustaveli Boulevard with “chloroacetophenone” and CS preparations and various chemicals in other areas. Thus when scrapings from the walls of the Theater Institute were studied traces of preparations such as Malathion insecticide and “Dikhlofos” [name as transliterated] were discovered, while at School No. 1 the phenol content at the labor training class exceeded the maximum permissible concentration by a factor of 122, and so on. These figures attest to interested parties’ intention to produce “evidence” of the significant scale of the “poisonings” at any price.

Here is another important fact. The results of studies of fabric samples from clothing on the bodies’ along with control objects picked up where people died revealed no signs of their having come into contact with “chloroacetophenone” and CS substances or any others. This has to do with the claim that people allegedly died of the gases.

[Belan] So, how did they die?

[Vasilyev] While the demonstrators were being cleared, there was a tremendous crush around Government House. There were several reasons for this which the inquiry has established. The resisters began to retreat toward the hunger-strikers and large groups of young people coming to help the former began to stream in from the opposite side, thus citizens in the middle of the crush had difficulty in escaping (there is video footage of this: People were literally clambering over the heads of

this tightly compressed mass of people). Plus the dutiful behavior of some of the demonstrators—they obeyed calls from the rally’s leaders and activists and sat on the ground and the asphalt in front of Government House. It was here that 16 participants in the rally were crushed, while two died from their injuries later in medical establishments.

The inquiry concluded that the crush in which people were injured did not occur as a result of any ill-conceived or hasty actions by servicemen but owing to a combination of the aforementioned factors. These data are objective: We are all servants of the law and, while investigating these facts, we have ascertained the true state of affairs and obtained a true picture of the tragedy. Irrespective of whether or not anyone likes our findings.

All I have told you is established fact, discovered in the course of the inquiry. I do not undertake to draw final conclusions: That is premature. At the same time I would very much like to ensure that USSR people’s deputies consider the inquiry’s materials—they run to more than 120 volumes—which we are prepared to put at the disposal of representatives of people’s power.

In conclusion I would once again like to stress that the inquiry is not over yet. Approximately 1,000 reviews are in the pipeline; when they are completed, we will be able to answer all the questions facing us.

Dialogue Leads to Opening of New Mosques in Baku

NC2112103289 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1700 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] The state’s approach on matters related to religion has radically changed as a result of the restructuring and openness policy. The registering of religious communes, the opening of 19 mosques and theological schools, the publication of religious literature, and the participation of religious organizations in benevolent and charity projects confirm the changes that are taking place in our republic in the religious domain.

The question of registering 37 Muslim communes between 1990 and 1992 has been examined. Mosques will be opened in Shir-Alan, Bostan, Akhmetli, and Emirkhanly districts in Baku, in Ali-Bayramly, Vartashen, Kutkashen, (?Kurdemir), Udzhaz, and (?Bazimamed) towns, in (?Buradigah) in Masallinskiy Rayon, in (?Buyukpazar) in Lenkoran, in Bakkaly and Lakhuti villages in Ismailinskiy Rayon, and in other places.

Meanwhile, the registering of another 30 religious communes and the appeal made by religious individuals for the publication of a newspaper which will be known as the VOICE OF ISLAM are being considered. The workers of the party and soviet organs are holding frequent meetings with the representatives of religious personages. Matters pertaining to the relations of the religious personages with the soviet organs and social organizations are being discussed at these meetings.

A meeting held at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee examined the further development of these relations. Academician (?Tokerli), Abdullayev, [title indistinct], (?Alibayev), who is one of the editors of KOMMUNIST, and others participated in the exchange of views that was held. It was noted that the dialogue with the representatives of various religious communes in the republic should be further broadened.

Ratib Aliyev, chief of the Ideology Department of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, participated in the work of the meeting.

Kurdish Intellectuals Criticize Azerbaijan

NC2012170589 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
1700 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] The "Lraber" information program yesterday carried an interview by our correspondent with USSR People's Deputy Sos Sarkisyan, who revealed the contents of a cable from Baku to the second session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies concerning the situation of the Kurds in the Soviet Union. The phones at our radio's offices have been ringing continuously today. This afternoon we were given the text of a cable drawn up by a group of Kurdish intellectuals residing in our republic which was also sent to the presidium of the Second Congress of People's Deputies and to Mikhail Gorbachev.

The cable states: We request you to disseminate our cable at the congress. It has come to our attention that Babayev's [not further identified] cable concerning the situation of the Kurdish ethnic minority in the Soviet Union is being circulated among the people's deputies. We fully share the demand expressed in that cable for the restoration of a Kurdish autonomous region within Azerbaijan and the return of the Kurds who have emigrated from that region. As regards the departure of a number of Kurds from Armenia, the number given in that cable is exaggerated and, moreover, has nothing to do with the alleged hostility of the Armenian people. We feel it necessary to stress that the cable contains obvious and intentional distortions as regards the situation of the Kurds and this has aroused the indignation of the Kurdish population in Soviet Armenia. Armenia is justifiably recognized within and without the Soviet Union as a center of Kurdish culture, literature, and history, a center which provides a normal national cultural life to the Kurdish ethnic minority. The Kurdish national (?furnaces) created in Armenia back in 1920's are still active and productive today. When one speaks about the national cultural achievements of the Soviet Kurds, one should be in mind that, invariably, they are the result of the endeavors of Soviet Armenia and the Armenian people. However, even the issue of including the question of the violated rights of the Kurdish people on the party's agenda is contingent upon a recognition of the blatant distortions of the nationalities policy in Azerbaijan, where the dissolution of the Kurdish autonomous entity resulted in part of the people emigrating and the

rest being subjected to forced assimilation. It is important to note that according to official figures for 1926, three times as many Kurds lived in Azerbaijan as in Armenia. By 1979, according to the census, the Kurdish population of Armenia had almost quadrupled. Meanwhile, the Azerbaijan Republic declared the nonexistence of Kurds in that republic. It is obvious that the attempt to divert attention from the situation of the Kurds in Azerbaijan and the denial of the existence of the Kurdish population even today is nothing but an attempt to evade a solution of this problem, to eliminate the possibility of a return of the Kurdish population to the Kurdish province of Azerbaijan, and thus to bring this issue to an impasse, complicating the solution of other national-ethnic problems at the same time. Pertinent documents and information on this issue have been sent to the higher party and soviet organs.

The cable was signed by Miro Mstoyan, deputy chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet and member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; writer Nado Makhmutov; Doctor Professor Shako Mahoyi, director of the oriental studies institute section of the Armenian Academy of Sciences; Samand Siabandov; and 10 others.

Further on Kurdish Criticism

NC2112155689 Yerevan International Service
in Armenian 1900 GMT 20 Dec 89

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Excerpts] KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN has published cables from Kurdish intellectuals addressed to the second congress of the USSR people's deputies which is meeting in Moscow. [passage omitted]

In one of the cables, poet Alikhane Mame, a member of the USSR Writers Union, stressed that when the Armenian population of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKA O] expressed its desire for self-determination and for reunification with mother Armenia in February 1988, the Kurdish people sided with justice and demanded and expected not only that the NKA O people's demand would be satisfied, but also that the oppression of other peoples in Azerbaijan, including the Kurds whose sovereignty was wrested away in 1930 and who were subjected to enforced assimilation, would be eliminated. Fearing that the NKA O and Kurdish movements might converge into joint demonstrations and meetings, the Azerbaijan leadership flooded the Kurdish areas, which lie between the NKA O and Armenia, with large numbers of people from Baku wearing militia uniforms and worker overalls and with members of the so-called supervisory brigades enlisted from other regions. Their aim was obvious: to drive a wedge between Armenia and the NKA O, close the Goris-Lachin-Stepanakert road, choke movement to [word indistinct] Kurdistan, and launch marauding raids on nearby villages with the intent of sowing the seeds of enmity between the Armenian and Kurdish peoples. However, both the Armenians and the Kurds recognized

this Azeri policy of sowing dissension and did not surrender to provocations. Instead, they continued to pursue their freedom-loving aspirations.

Frunze Journalists Charged for Picketing

90US0289A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 50, 13 Dec 89 p 3

[Article by A. Ivanov, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA staff correspondent for Kirghizia, Frunze: "In Court—'For Demonstrating Their Opinion'"]

[Text] On Sunday evening, eight Frunze journalists received summons to appear the following day at the rayon police department. There they were charged with picketing the building in which a gorkom [city party committee] plenum was taking place. But what kind of picketing! No one blocked the path of plenum participants. Workers at Frunze enterprises and journalists had gathered near the building, disturbed over what decision would be reached in the VECHERNIY FRUNZE matter. Some individuals held placards in their hands: "An Attack on Glasnost?," "Gorkom Members! We Trust Your Objectivity!"

Police Senior Lieutenant S. Laverov, conducting the inquiry, admitted he knew the claims were groundless, but..."they're pressuring us—so we have to exert some pressure."

Now let us address what happened prior to issue of the summons and subsequent court proceeding.

On 27 October the bureau of the Frunze party gorkom looked at the matter of what work was being done by the editorial board of VECHERNIY FRUNZE. By bureau decree the newspaper's deputy editor, V. Zapolskiy, was discharged from his position. The motives for this were quite vague—he had reprinted the "wrong" material from PRAVDA (!), and had excessively emphasized negative phenomena in the life of the city.

The editorial collective considered this decision unjust and responded with an ultimatum—either Zapolskiy would be reinstated or the newspaper would cease publication. The decision of the bureau was suspended, but then a date was set for the gorkom plenum...

Disturbed at the fate of their colleague, journalists from a number of local publications submitted an application to the rayispolkom [rayon soviet executive committee] for conducting a rally to draw community attention to the pressure being exerted on glasnost (after which those who signed the demand were summoned to the police station). The ispolkom responded with a refusal—please wait until after the plenum.

The plenum supported the decision of the gorkom party bureau.

And what about the promised rally? Again—a refusal. But rumors filtered down to the competent organs to the effect that, in spite of the ban, the journalists apparently

intended to conduct the rally. On 3 December, police units and special-mission police detachments armed with water cannon assembled in Frunze's old square...and there encountered only a small group of the newspaper's readers—which themselves soon dispersed.

On 5 December, the former Stalin Constitution day, the day the draft Law on the Press was published, eight journalists appeared in court and heard what they were charged with: "demonstrating their opinion" (!). They were warned that participation in such measures would henceforth not be tolerated. Thinking his official duty completed, Pervomayskiy Rayon People's Judge B. Omuraliyev stated aloud that "they" had put pressure on him, demanding that he impose heavy fines on some and send others to jail. But he was a decent guy, as it were, and therefore mitigated the punishment.

The court also deprived the journalists of the right without which their very profession is inconceivable—the right to be where people gather to express their attitude toward the diverse events of our life.

Ukraine Health Section for Officials Abolished

LD2212113289 Kiev in English to North America
0030 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] The Council of Ministers of the Ukraine has resolved to abolish the Fourth Main Department in the republic's Health Ministry, which was at the disposal of high-ranking officials. At the same time, a decision was adopted to transfer many sanatoriums and health resorts belonging to the Fourth Department for the treatment and rehabilitation of children, invalids, and war and labor veterans. For instance, the Chernomorsk Sanatorium, now under construction in Yalta, will be made into a therapeutic and rehabilitation research center for children with bronchial ailments.

Zhitomir Obkom Replaces First Secretary

PM2112123989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Dec 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Oblast Party Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Zhitomir, 18 Dec—A plenum of Zhitomir Oblast Ukrainian Communist Party Committee [obkom] was held to consider an organizational question. The plenum relieved V.M. Kavun of his duties as party obkom first secretary in connection with his retirement on pension.

V.G. Fedorov, hitherto sector chief at the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department, was elected first secretary of Zhitomir Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom.

Yanayev on Crimean Tatars' Right of Return

LD1112120689

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 9 December presents a 90-minute

discussion program entitled "The Individual and Society" chaired by Aleksandr Maksimovich Yakovlev, doctor of juridical sciences and USSR people's deputy. Also taking part are Nataliya Yuryevna Reshetova, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals; Gennadiy Ivanovich Yanayev, deputy chairman of the AUCCTU and people's deputy; Vladimir Ivanovich Andreyev, deputy procurator general; Vladimir Petrovich Pirozhkov, deputy chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security; and Yuriy Aleksandrovich Reshetov, head of the USSR Foreign ministry directorate on humanitarian cooperation and human rights.

During the course of the program, which focuses on Human Rights Day on 10 December, the participants in turn reply to questions put by viewers. During the final section of the program Yanayev makes the following statement:

"Finally I am asked some questions by comrades (?Khalminin, Seyfmutetov, Seyfshcharov, and Shemezade) about the restoration of the rights of the Crimean Tatar people. I think that this, too, is one of our vigorous points in nationalities policy. As chairman of the Supreme Soviet deputies' commission on the problems of the Crimean Tatar people I want to say the following. In the first place the Supreme Soviet has adopted a declaration recognising as illegal and criminal repressive actions against peoples who were subjected to enforced resettlement (? and protecting their rights). Our commission of the Supreme Soviet put forward the following proposal to the Supreme Soviet which has been approved by the Supreme Soviet. I want to report this today with a clear conscience both to the Crimean Tatars and to the Russian-speaking population on the Crimea. First: that the return to the places of their historic habitation, that is to say to the Crimea, be considered a legitimate right of the Crimean Tatar people. Second: that the solution of the problem of the organized return of the Crimean Tatar people be carried out within the framework of a centralized state program. Third: that a commission of the USSR Council of Ministers be set up to work out and implement this program and that it include representatives of the government of the USSR, of the union republics of those territories where Crimean Tatars live in compact groups, of the Crimean oblast executive committee, and directly representatives of the national movement of the Crimean Tatars. Fourth: that the restoration of the rights of the Crimean Tatar people cannot be implemented without the formation of a Crimean ASSR within the framework of the Ukrainian SSR. The commission expressed itself in favor of changing resolution 14-76, having in mind the lifting of restrictions on the registration of Crimean Tatars for residence in the Crimea. Finally the commission urged all bodies and organizations that have an interest in this matter to carry out work in creating the necessary moral and psychological climate in the Crimea to assist the implementation of the return program. I would like to stress particularly, addressing the Russian-speaking population of the Crimea, that the restoration of the rights of

the Crimean Tatar people, comrades, will not be carried out at the expense of limiting the rights of other nationalities already living in the Crimea. I hope that both the Crimean Tatars and the Russian-speaking population will display good sense, sound organization and mutual understanding."

Orthodox Synod Urges End to Catholic Violence

LD2112061889 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1230 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, 19 Dec (TASS)—The Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church has issued a statement in connection with brutal and illegal actions against Orthodox believers in the Ukraine by representatives of the so-called Committee "for the Defense of the Ukrainian Catholic Church," some figures in the "Ukrainian People's Rukh" and Catholics of the Eastern Rite (Uniates).

The statement draws attention to a number of violent and criminal acts which violate the peaceful life of people and artificially kindle enmity and hatred between Orthodox and Catholics. Places of worship are being taken from the Orthodox community and their sacred places are being defiled. Clergy and believers are being forcibly expelled and deprived of the ability to pray in accordance with Orthodox belief and church rules. Threatening physical violence, they persuade Orthodox believers to transfer to the Uniate Church, compelling them to confirm this with their signatures.

Disturbed by the development of events, the leading clergy of the Moscow Patriarchate has undertaken a number of actions aimed at stabilizing the situation and at creating the necessary conditions for a peaceful settlement of the problems of Orthodox-Catholic relations in the western Ukraine. In particular these are contacts with people's deputies, an appeal to union, republican and local authorities and also contacts with Rome, ecumenical organizations and the mass information media.

In this situation, the members of the Synod appeal to the Congress of People's Deputies, to the governments of the USSR and the Ukrainian soviet socialist republic, to the local bodies of power, to the public, to Orthodox and Catholics, and to all believers and nonbelievers who are citizens of our country, asking them to recognize the whole tragic nature of the situation that has arisen in the western Ukraine and its possible sad consequences for the destiny of our society.

We consider that lawfulness, not violence is capable of halting the clashes and creating the prerequisites for healing the conflict, the statement points out. We call for the immediate halting of all acts of violence, the release of all places of worship that have been seized, the restoration of lawfulness, and the securing for everyone of the freedom of conscience guaranteed by the Constitution. Placing our trust in the mercy of God, we call upon both Orthodox and Catholics to pray for each other and to remember that the rights of one group of people

cannot be satisfied at the expense of the rights of another group, and that the resolution of the problems that have divided us for centuries lies not through confrontation, but through dialogue.

Anti-AES Campaign Issue in Chelyabinsk

PM0712115389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
5 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent G. Shcherbina dispatch under the rubric "Election Campaign Under Way": "Obstacles at the Beginning of the Road"]

[Excerpt] Chelyabinsk—[passage omitted] More than 200 representatives of the People's Front, Democratic Union, and other social formations recently held their constituent meeting to form a "voters association" within Traktorzavodskiy Electoral Okrug No. 334 for the elections of USSR people's deputies. The main aim of the newly established organization is said to be to "galvanize the voters and unite them for the purpose of exercising genuine people's power." The meeting's participants rejected proposals by A. Alekseyev, People's Front coordinator, to incorporate in the statute the requirement to support the deputies of an inter-regional deputy group and campaign for radical economic reform with a multiplicity of forms of ownership, including private ownership. But even more symptomatic is the fact that an amendment to the statute of the "voters association" on supporting "progressive CPSU forces" in the elections was rejected equally vigorously. This means that the voice of Communists who took part in the meeting, including G. Sachko, secretary of Chelyabinsk's Tsentralnyy Rayon party committee, went unheeded.

Will the main bulk of the electorate respond to the program of activity of this informal organization and to its appeals? Will they support them? Certainly not in everything, but in matters concerned with construction at the Southern Urals nuclear power station [AES] they probably will. The fact of the matter is that the population, which still remembers the terrible, devastating nuclear explosion in 1957 at one of the local defense installations, the "Mayak" combine, continues to stubbornly oppose the creation of another—as they see it—source of a nuclear threat. No one has been able to persuade them of the reverse in the last 18 months—not even the recent scientific and practical (?) conference in Chelyabinsk, although its work was broadcast on oblast television from start to finish.

The main mistake made by the conference was that its participants were unable to give distinct, convincing answers to the majority of citizens' questions, which had been published in the newspaper VECHERNIY CHELYABINSK beforehand. People were also mistrustful of the conference because about 80 percent of its participants were representatives of the AES project and the "Mayak" combine, and therefore defending departmental interests. This means that, willingly or no, the

problem of building the Southern Urals AES is becoming one of the dominant features of the election campaign.

This is closely followed by difficulties in the oblast's provision with foodstuffs, a shortage of consumer goods, and disorder in the services sphere. It is not hard to guess how the future candidate deputies of local soviets are going to feel in this difficult atmosphere when facing the electorate. But more than 13,000 deputies must be elected to soviets of all levels in the oblast and are fated to be the force capable of resolving the tasks of perestroika in practice. This means that steps must be taken now to shape in voters an aware rather than emotional attitude to the nomination of candidates and the ability to critically assess their programs and look ahead.

It is precisely these tasks on which the electoral commissions, and particularly the party organizations, will have to focus their efforts. The activity of the latter in the initial stage of the election campaign has been analyzed by the oblast party committee bureau. It was forced to admit that many party committees have adopted a wait-and-see attitude, and that their voice is not being heard among the electorate. The oblast electoral commission and rayon and city soviet executive committees are still largely concerned with organizational and technical matters and are neglecting mass explanatory work. [passage omitted]

Russians Boycott Local Elections in Estonia

PM2112101189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 19 Dec 89 Second Edition p 2

[Unnamed TASS correspondent report: "Estonian SSR Local Soviet Election Results"]

[Text] Tallinn, 18 Dec—The results of the 10 December elections to city, rayon, settlement, and rural soviets in the republic have become known.

Elections were held for the first time under the law adopted last August. More than 9,000 candidates, representing labor collectives, public organizations, and various movements, contested the 4,209 deputy seats in local self-management organs.

Multiseat okrugs were set up in a number of cities and rayons. There voters had to pick from the candidates named on the ballot paper the two, three, four, or five candidates—dependent on the number of seats—who were most in keeping with their views to work in the soviet. Another innovation was the absence of elections to the rayon soviets of Tallinn city. Each of the 80 deputies of the city soviet will simultaneously be a deputy of the rayon on whose territory he was elected.

There were 1,153,338 people altogether on the electoral roll and more than 70 percent of them took part in voting. The electorate in the countryside was more active—82 percent. In the cities 65 percent of the electorate took part in the elections.

The total number of those who did not participate in the elections was over 300,000. Slightly under half of them are accounted for by Tallinn, where in four okrugs elections were in fact invalid, as under 50 percent of registered voters went to the polls. Since they were multiseat okrugs, 13 deputies were not elected. The capital's city soviet will have to start work below full strength.

The soviet of Maardu, Tallinn's satellite city, will also start work at reduced strength for the same reason. There the elections were invalid in 3 okrugs, and 7 out of 15 deputies were not elected.

The disruption of the elections in precisely those okrugs where the Russian-speaking population predominates may be in part regarded as a boycott, which was urged on the population by the leaders of the International Movement and the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] United Council of Labor Collectives. The reason was the residence qualification envisaged in the Law on Elections to Local Soviets. Suspension of the residence qualification for voters for the election period did not make the law more democratic, according to the initiators of the idea of the boycott.

According to the law, additional elections should take place within 45 days—by 27 January. As was explained in the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the validity of the decision not to apply the residence qualification to voters is automatically extended.

While the republic commission checked and rechecked the correctness of the counting of the vote at local level, many rayon newspapers published lists of elected deputies. Detailed analysis of who is who is a matter for the future, when the deputies' credentials are confirmed. For the time being, however, it is very plain that the freedom to nominate and elect people unregulated by any kind of quota system from above has resulted in the city soviet of Tartu, Estonia's second largest city, electing, for example, only one woman. Four women were elected in Kokhtla-Yarve.

Samizdat, Informal Information Exchange Described

*PM1312152289 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 49, 3 Dec 89 p 14*

[Yegor Druzenko report: "Where To Learn About Informals"]

[Text] Two young men worked on a computer, at the same time managing to share their political views with me. At the Moscow Bureau of Information Exchange (MBIE) the members of the confederation of anarchist-syndicalists were preparing the next issue of their paper "Obshchina" (Community).

Some 20 people work here at the MBIE, at No. 1 First Dubrovskaya St. A worker, a physicist, a historian (specializing in Byzantium)... Vyacheslav Igrunov, chairman

of the bureau, the same as many of the staff, changed several trades before organizing this peculiar information agency.

It is an information centre, a sort of coordination centre of informals and a samizdat library, all in one. The demand for the MBIE's services is big, as it is not so easy to find one's bearings in the motley variety of public organizations. And the bureau has a bank on informals who, by the way, are in most cases also the MBIE's clients. The information is actively used by the informal (samizdat, free—call it whatever you like) press, such as *Atmoda* or *Soglasiye* (concord), as well as by foreign journalists (for example, from the Voice of America). At the same time, anyone else who needs information can get the necessary data by calling 276-17-86, the bureau's telephone number.

You'll be told for instance, that the largest informal organization in the city is the Moscow Popular Front, that the *Express-Chronicle*, a samizdat paper, has the biggest circulation, and the *Golos* (Voice), which is published by the Committee of Social Protection, is among those with the smallest, that there are in Moscow not only anarchist-syndicalists, but also Constitutional-Democrats, the Russian Union of Young Democrats, etc., etc., etc.

The data on informal organizations is put into the bank by the bureau staff members, helped by voluntary assistants. I must stress that the authenticity of all the incoming data is checked, so that errors, if not altogether excluded, are reduced to a minimum. The MBIE deals not only in information, but also in distributing periodicals. There are some 40 editions, which belong to diverse public movements. They can be bought, for example, on Pushkin Square.

The MBIE has certain financial difficulties. In order to get the press to pay its way, papers have to be sold at a rather high price (2 to 3 roubles a copy). True, cooperatives help by giving subsidies. Were the bureau granted the status of an independent public organization, that would help solve a lot of problems. But that is probably a matter for the future.

CPSU Secretary Stroyev at Food Plant 3 Nov

*PM0311100789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "To Make the Table Richer"]

[Text] The output of Moscow's "Koloss" Production Association is well known to the capital's residents. Both adults and children have grown to love its potato cakes and cutlets and all sorts of concentrates and pasta products which do not require cooking. Even though the association produces more than 100,000 tonnes of food products a year, demand exceeds supply.

During a visit to the association's head enterprise on 2 November, Ye.S. Stroyev, secretary of the CPSU Central

Committee, discussed ways to increase production of products that are so essential to Muscovites and thus to make our table more rich and varied, as well as the problems of the processing sector.

The chief task of "Koloss," the CPSU Central Committee secretary pointed out, is to fully provide Moscow's population with potato products and food concentrates and also to set up a model enterprise to disseminate its experience and create an entire network of such enterprises in the country. There is a great and urgent need for this: The Soviet Union produces 73 million tonnes of potatoes, but you cannot speak of an abundance of them, for the losses are too great.

In order to avoid this, it is necessary to tackle thoroughly the in-depth processing of potatoes. And the "Koloss" Association is to give great assistance in this.

The association's specialists have elaborated a concept for fully providing Moscow's population with potato products and food concentrates—which is to increase per capita consumption of potato products from 2.9 kg in 1988 to 6 kg in 1992-1995.

However, the enterprise's work is hampered by irregular supplies of raw materials from the capital's fruit and vegetable associations and their poor quality. The question of constructing a railroad branch line is not being resolved in any way. True, neighbors—the Kuybyshev Fruit and Vegetable Association—could help out by enabling "Koloss" to use their own branch line, particularly as it frequently stands empty.

The housing problem at the association is acute too. Although the money and the contractor are there, the rayon soviet executive committee [rayispolkom] has delayed in allocating land for housing construction. The question of differentiating purchase prices according to the quality and the seasonal type of potatoes supplied for processing remains unresolved. The meeting participants made suggestions as to how to "unblock" the "bottlenecks" in the association.

Ye.S. Stroyev emphasized that it is worth thinking about setting up a scientific experimental center with a design bureau at "Koloss," making wider use of foreign experience, more boldly undertaking the creation of joint ventures, and exchanging specialists. It is necessary to develop a network of enterprises to process potatoes, proceeding from cities' special features.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary had an animated discussion with working people in the enterprise's shops. Ye.S. Stroyev inquired about the working people's working and living conditions. He also met with foreign specialists carrying out startup and adjustment work at "Koloss."

In conclusion, Ye.S. Stroyev had a meeting with the enterprise collective. Production and social questions of the association's development were discussed during the talks. The CPSU Central Committee secretary spoke

about the political situation in the country and the questions being discussed at the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

Participating in the meeting were G.S. Ogryzkin, deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department, and V.I. Chernovanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases.

Official Urges Legalization of Lobbying

18120018 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 47, 26 Nov 89-2 Dec 89 p 10

[Interview with Eduard Ivanyan, doctor of sciences (history), by Marina Shakina; date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is MOSCOW NEWS introduction]

[Text] Soviet parliamentarism is coming into being now that the USSR Supreme Soviet has become a permanently operating body. And we used to consider the lobby as an evil of parliamentarism. A lobby is a group which tries to influence lawmakers in favour or against some draft law or decision. How then should we treat the lobby system? We spoke with Eduard Ivanyan, D.Sc. [doctor of sciences] (history), a laboratory head at the Institute of the USA and Canada, USSR Academy of Sciences. He says:

We have treated lobbyism as an antilegal, nearly anti-constitutional activity by small groups in the West, in the secret interests of the military-industrial complex, the elite, the ruling class, the military top, etc. I'm against this all-round disfavour. We should look at the lobby as a movement of consumers to protect the interests of many people and to establish control over quality of goods.

Or take the antiwar movement? Isn't this a lobby, too? It protests against the militarist plans and programmes of governments and parliaments.

Question: Our prejudice prevents us from openly recognizing even the members of the USSR Supreme Soviet as professional lawmakers. Hired lobbyists would probably cause big irritation, too. But is a professional lobbyist really so scary?

Answer: All parliamentary countries have laws that regulate the activities of lobbyists. These laws generally forbid such methods of pressure as gifts, banquets, entertainment trips, to say nothing of bribes or graft. But, let's say, personal contacts and personal relations are not considered illegal.

In the USA one can even lobby in favour of a foreign state. There is only one demand—a lobbyist must be registered as representing a foreign power.

Question: How much of a role do lawmakers play in deciding whether to allow a lobby?

Answer: Lobbyism as a phenomenon exists with a parliament, irrespective of whether it has been publicly recognized, and this has to be taken into account. Society is divided into different groups, strata and substrata. Who represents their dreams, wishes and aspirations beside parliamentarians? The lobby. Lawmakers do not have enough energy, time or money for everybody and everything. Whereas a lobby has a large research service and a big staff.

Lobbyists are sure to appear in our country. But we shouldn't fear them. We would do better to start thinking about laws for these processes. Legal lobbying will help keep an eye on the corruption which has become so widespread.

Question: You say that lobbyism exists wherever there is a parliament. During the stagnation era, the Supreme Soviet sessions lasted two to three days at the most. They adopted the decisions prepared by ministries. That can hardly be called a parliament. Therefore, there was no such phenomenon as "Soviet lobbyism?"

Answer: In the past Soviet lobbyism was distinguished from "ordinary" lobbyism in that it operated not in lawmaking organs, but in the party and government bodies—where real power was. The Ministries of Land Improvement and Water Conservation, and of Agriculture, for instance, were quite successful in influencing these organs and, as a result, received money from the state budget. Or take the Ministry of Defence, or the Ministry of Mineral Fertilizers: They all got financing for their costly—and often—unworthy programmes through lobbying.

And what do we have now at our supreme lawmaking organ? I'm afraid that lobbyism has been built into lawmaking. Ministers cannot be USSR people's deputies, but what can prevent a minister from asking a deputy, who belongs to the minister's ministry, to lobby for the ministry. Nothing. Or take the party workers? Isn't a secretary of the regional, city or district committee a potential party lobbyist apparatus?

Question: Would you welcome classic lobbyism in the Supreme Soviet?

Answer: I think that any lobby must be permitted, so long as it is in the interests of a large public group. I would welcome an ecological lobby in Soviet parliament. But with one postulate—it must not be done for the narrowly departmental interests of a ministry, a state committee, an enterprise, or a city. The lobbyists must offer solutions for the entire country.

I also think that a consumer lobby would be expedient.

Question: Lobbyism costs money. Wouldn't it become a source of social injustice and tension? Couldn't it turn out that whoever is richer is right?

Answer: Until there are broad, universally accepted lobbies, whoever has more pressure to bring to bear will be making the laws. But when lobbyism becomes part of

parliamentary life, only one thing will be taken into account: the social value of the draft law, decision or programme.

If we want lobbyism to be socially useful, instead of socially harmful, it must be legalized.

Commentary Discusses Press Freedom, Pressure

LD0912143389 Moscow World Service in English
0810 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] This week a bill on the press has been published in the Soviet Union to be discussed nationwide. The publication comes at a time when the press, according to many, has reemerged as one of the acutest issues. The National Parliament approved the bill in the first reading, while attempts were being reported to gag some papers. Mikhail Glebov has this commentary:

The ruling Board of the Writers' Union of the Russian Federation has decided to replace Anatoliy Ananyev, the editor of its literary monthly OKTYABR. [word indistinct] decision of the board, he came under fire for publishing undesired titles. Meanwhile in the city of Noginsk, near Moscow, a strike was called by the staff of a local paper issued by the city council and the city Communist Party Committee. According to the weekly LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, they protested the sacking of their trouble-making editor Puchkov. The pressure put on these and other editors has figured in parliamentary debate and is condemned, among others, by Yevgeniy Yevtushenko, a famous poet as well as a Parliament member. Yevtushenko calls for an end to the hunt for enemies recently targeted against some newspapers. A bill on the press is urgently needed, given the brutal deposal [as heard] of the editor of LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA, Kolesov, and attempts to sack Starkov, the editor of the weekly tabloid ARGUMENTS AND FACTS, and (Averin), the editor of the book review KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE.

Other observers revealed more problems faced by a number of publications. Some are calling to all a broad onslaught inspired from the high. That would be an exaggeration, however, if you look at the media at large. Take for instance the Thursday report on the national television about the meeting in Leningrad, where some speakers attacked the Communist Party leader President Gorbachev, and others scolded party Secretary Yegor Ligachev. The statements and appeals made at the meeting dispelled the fears that the number of taboos in the country was growing. These fears have also been called exaggerated by the head of the parliamentary Committee on Openness and Civil Rights, Foteyev. Their fears wouldn't run wild, Foteyev says, if there were less speculation about the October conference at the Communist Party Central Committee devoted to the press. No account of the conference has been published, so the specific critical remarks voiced there were later presented as an overall pressure on the papers. To correct the misunderstanding an account of the conference must be published.

An encouraging speech has been delivered in the Parliament by Communist Party Secretary Vadim Medvedev, regarded by many as an advocate of press curbs. He challenged this reputation by speaking out for openness. Medvedev says he and the other party leaders were against what he called the outdated practice of bossing the press about. On top of that one can hardly speak about an overall onslaught from the press while no problems of the kind are being faced by such papers as OGOSEK and MOSCOW NEWS, known for their critical publications.

The problem seems to lie in the papers' relations with their staffs organizations and not with the central bodies. These organizations include public associations and the Communist Party committees [words indistinct] stand in the current social struggle and rightfully want their publications to convey their approaches. Indeed, he who pays calls the tune. At the same time their authority mustn't be excessive or strip the papers of their rights.

The bill on the press is to solve the problem. For instance, it stipulates that the program of a paper must be approved by its sponsor. Once approved, however, it is carried out by the editorial board on the basis of full professional independence. Disputes between sponsors and editors are to be settled in accordance with a paper's rules, which the staff approve by simple majority. The rules may specify that the editor is elected by the staff. There have been many reports of intervention in the editor-sponsor relations by various officials sticking to old habits. The bill on the press, if adopted, will discourage such action. It provides the machinery for the media to oppose state and public bodies, claiming that publications must be settled with them. The bill calls it interference in the work of the media not to be tolerated.

National Mood Surrounding 2d Congress Assessed

90UN0480A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 50, 13 Dec 89 p 1

[Report by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA commentator V. Yanelis: "Clarity of Purpose" under the rubric "Temperature of the Week"]

[Text] And what is the temperature of the current week? Our correspondents took a measure of the public mood in several regions of the country.

Let us begin with Moscow. A strained awaiting of the Second Congress of Peoples Deputies. In places—bursts of emotion. However this congress, in contrast to the first, is not taken by many as an attempt to revolutionize the life of society. A portion of those questioned, as before, have a reserved attitude toward the governmental program of curing the economy. Nevertheless the majority considers that one more year can be sacrificed for realizing the Abalkin plan.

At the end of the week—talk of a possible splintering at the CPSU Central Committee plenum, attacks from the

right. The results of the plenum were met with relief; the party goes to the congress with a single, tried-and-true platform.

In the political sense, the most active during the past week were the Baltic inhabitants, according to the reports of our correspondents. They regard supply difficulties as temporary. The majority have in mind a transition of the republics to full cost accounting. At the same time, signs of becoming tired of the confrontations of various political factions have appeared. Elections to local soviets having begun, the large number of candidates representing over 20 formal and informal organizations and movements demonstrates once more the wide spectrum of political platforms.

According to reports from Ufa, inhabitants of the autonomous republic are characterized by a drop in public activity. Passions explode from time to time primarily among the radically inclined youth. The adult population is content with measures of an economic order taken by the republic's leadership; ration cards for basic food products are being introduced everywhere. The capital of Bashkiria is watching with sympathy the battle of the editorial collective of the newspaper LENINETS fighting off attacks in the courts from the highly placed "heroes" described in their articles.

The situation is largely the same in the geographically close region of Penza. The relatively bearable supply of the oblast with food products in some measure is relieving tensions. One can sense the dissatisfactions of youth with certain limitations on the freedom of speech and assembly. The National Front is not yet registered in the city in spite of repeated appeals to those in power. Hopes for possible successes of perestroika are basically tied to the influence of the center, new laws passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet; their own leadership apparatus is considered too conservative.

In Kiev, as before, Chernobyl and other ecological misfortunes are on people's minds, and these themes are constantly interpreted in the political platforms of the leaders of "Rukh" [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroika]. There is a certain confusion among Rukh sympathizers; the movement is increasingly breaking up into factions. Someone under the banner of Rukh calls for cooperation with the current organs of power in the republic; someone else, on the contrary, insists on boycotting them.

The inhabitants of Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk concentrate largely on their regional problems. Half the stores, in their view, could be closed as there is nothing to sell. There are ration cards for 10 designated products, but obtaining merchandise for them is not always possible. A program of developing border trade with Japan and South Korea and possible gains from economic independence are being discussed intensely.

Yaroslavl has concerns of its own. There is a certain decline of confidence in the leaders of informal movements, who, in spite of the attractiveness of their ideas,

have no influence on the economy of the oblast. It has been greatly weakened. With this for a background, managers of Yaroslavl enterprises firmly promise to stabilize the economic and supply situation if they receive a vote of confidence in elections to local soviets. Workers' collectives together nominate their directors as candidates. So far there is no serious visible competition. The Second Congress of Peoples Deputies, in the opinion of some of the people of Yaroslavl, cannot substantively influence the improvement of living standards of the people.

Such is the palette of moods. What can one conclude? A certain disappointment in the speed of perestroika is characteristic of almost all respondents. A lowering of political activity, concern over declining living standards. In some of the people optimism inculcates a readiness to activate personal creative and physical resources in the presence of a clear political purpose and definite economic incentives.

In the next commentary we shall try to measure the temperature in other regions of the country.

Roy Medvedev Criticizes Interregional Group

PM2112095789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 20 Dec 89 First Edition p 1

[Interview with USSR People's Deputy Roy Medvedev by unidentified own correspondents under the rubric "Prominent Characters": "Deputy Roy Medvedev"; date, place not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] He hardly needs any introduction. For almost 20 years his name and writings were hushed up in this country. But his books on Stalinism were published in the West and translated into many languages.

Roy Aleksandrovich Medvedev, the historian and writer, is 64. He was elected deputy for a territorial okrug in Moscow. He is a member of the Supreme Soviet. It would seem that he has finally won recognition. But recently he has again been criticized by people who, until recently, supported him. Why? This is a difficult question. But the deputy agreed to give KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's parliamentary correspondents his answer to it. That kicked off the discussion.

[Correspondents] Roy Aleksandrovich, a newspaper—or rather a writer in it—recently called you a "court chronicler." You will, of course, forgive the question, but we would like to know how you react to such statements.

[Medvedev] I must admit that I know nothing about being a "chronicler." I have always been someone who writes things that the authorities don't like. All my 30 books have only been published abroad. But even now my views have not changed, they have simply become consonant with what is happening in the country. They are consonant with perestroika.

[Correspondents] So why the criticism?

[Medvedev] Many people simply thought that since I was opposed to the Brezhnev regime I would also oppose Gorbachev. But what is happening now corresponds to my proposals. I have always advocated combining socialism and democracy. But, I would note, not from the standpoint of liberalism, Western democracy, or any other avenue. I can describe my position as center-left. It is close to Mikhail Sergeyevich's views. That is why I have good relations with the country's leadership. This has not pleased certain representatives of the interregional group, which, as is well known, is headed by such people as Yuriy Afanasyev and Gavriil Popov.

[Correspondents] Why are they unhappy?

[Medvedev] I think they tried to see me as a loyal ally, or perhaps just a big name to be used in their interests. But I immediately dissociated myself from this and said no. I do not intend to oppose the current leadership's policy. I can make positive criticism. That is justifiable.

At the party meeting of deputies before the First Congress I supported Gorbachev's proposal rather than that of the interregional group. Or there was the fact that I supported another decision: To elect the chairman of the Supreme Soviet at the start rather than at the end of the First Congress. That is, I was in conflict with the interregional group.

[Correspondents] These are tactical questions. On what points do you differ with regard to strategic, long-term directions?

[Medvedev] I criticize Afanasyev, Popov, and Yeltsin for their extreme positions. Radical left-wing views are fatal for our country. The country is not ready for such rapid progress—and that is precisely what they are proposing.

[Correspondents] Perhaps the criticism of you is also associated with the fact that you are one of the leaders of the deputies' commission verifying the materials of the Gdlyan investigation group?

[Medvedev] I don't think so. Only partially, if it is. Incidentally, I was asked to join the commission as a man of independent views who belongs to no group or faction. Also probably because I am well known not only at home, but abroad.

[Correspondents] Since we have raised the subject, could you indicate what the commission's ruling will be?

[Medvedev] For the time being we are publishing what is, admittedly, a preliminary ruling. We will wait for the last day of the congress. For now it would be better if I did not comment. Let's agree on that.

[Correspondents] But have people been unhappy with your activity?

[Medvedev] That doesn't bother me very much. The commission has extensive powers, it needs to know how to use them. For instance, we are able to familiarize ourselves with all USSR Supreme Court and CPSU

Central Committee documents—even secret documents. We need to investigate the problem of corruption not only in Uzbekistan, but in the upper echelons of the apparatus. So there is dissatisfaction on one side, and on the part of Gdlyan and Ivanov. Investigating questions linked to corruption has never been easy.

[Correspondents] We are talking about justice. But it was only recently that you yourself were treated justly and reinstated in the CPSU. What party organizations are you currently working in?

[Medvedev] I am registered in the Voroshilov Rayon Soviet Executive Committee primary party organization. That is, the rayon where I was elected deputy. I'm a writer, but I'm not a member of any organization or creative union. That's why I thought it more logical to join a party organization closely associated with my voters.

[Correspondents] Will you be writing a book about the new parliament?

[Medvedev] My brother Zhores is writing that book, I'm giving him the material. Why? My brother speaks foreign languages and has experience of foreign parliaments. He is comparing my material on our Supreme Soviet with documents on the world's parliaments. He will collate everything. That was how the book on Gorbachev was prepared. It was written by my brother, and he still is freer and has more spare time available. But I submitted a great deal of material; he had only been using Western sources.

[Correspondents] What are you yourself working on?

[Medvedev] I have to finish my book on Brezhnev. Part one must be finished by March.

AUCCTU's Yanayev on Unions' Role, Elections

PM0712110989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 5 Dec 89 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with G.I. Yanayev, deputy chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, by Yu. Nikolayev: "For Masterful Soviets"; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] [Nikolayev] Just 3 months have elapsed since the Sixth All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] Plenum, which without exaggeration can be called a turning point, a landmark in our trade union movement. And now a new plenum. What gave rise to the need for it? This was the question that began my conversation with AUCCTU Deputy Chairman G.I. Yanayev.

[Yanayev] In brief, two circumstances of exceptional importance. The AUCCTU Presidium deemed it necessary to submit for discussion the question "The Trade Unions' Position and Tactics During the Elections of

Local and Republic Organs of Power." In this we proceeded from the decisive significance of the consequences these elections will have for the fate of the country and all working people and for Soviet trade unions, for the election struggle has essentially already begun and—as we see!—is being waged in a situation where the fundamental principles of our sociopolitical system are being seriously tested. There is hardly any need to demonstrate how important it is now to determine the strategy and tactics of the most mass public organization in the country.

And the second point. The Sixth AUCCTU Plenum—which adopted a resolute policy of independence in the work of trade union organizations, geared the movement, above all, to protecting working people's fundamental interests, and cast off functions alien to trade unions—elicited a far from unequivocal response from society. Shouts and importunate advice were heard from various sides—what trade unions should tackle and where it is "best not to meddle." After that plenum there was a sharp intensification of criticism from the right and left, as the saying goes. On the one hand, there was increased activity on the part of supporters of the administrative-edict system, who benefit from having mute and weak-willed trade unions as a convenient partner. On the other, pseudoradicals of various kinds... They usually pay lip service to the people's interests, while in reality they suggest ways out of the crisis at the working people's expense, by infringing their rights. Understandably, neither wants strong, independent trade unions, and both see them as a great danger. And so blows rain down on us from both sides. Hence the need to compare guidelines once again, to interpret collectively the first results of the perestroika of trade union work, and to draw up a line of conduct.

[Nikolayev] How, in your view, did the plenum justify all these hopes?

[Yanayev] Absolutely! The heated debate that flared up there gave a totally unequivocal answer to our opponents and critics: There will be no going back to the past! The plenum declared very definitely that the trade unions, which have adopted a policy of defending working people's interests and inalienable rights in every possible way and defending perestroika and renewed socialism, will not deviate from the chosen path.

The debate also revealed many trends which alarmed us. Unfortunately, many trade union organizations are still ridding themselves only slowly and feebly of chronic diseases such as formalism, sluggishness, and toothlessness in defending working people's rights and interests. They are still far from everywhere striving firmly and decisively for social justice. It need hardly be specified that where trade union organizations operate in the old way and have not freed themselves from bureaucratic fetters, the initiative is seized from them by quite different forces. And in some places parallel structures are even beginning to be created. I see the value of today's discussion in the fact that it has shown the whole

perniciousness of delays over the resolute perestroika of trade union work, particularly now that we are entering a very crucial election campaign.

[Nikolayev] Which tasks do you set in it? How do you see trade union representation on the new organs of power?

[Yanayev] If we were to speak only of representation, we would have no concerns. All the same, members of one trade union or another will enter soviets at all levels. The whole question is who this actual trade union member is. What are his views and intentions? What stand does he take in the debate taking place everywhere on the past, present, and future of socialism? For it is no secret that different viewpoints are expressed even on socialism in general. There are even extreme views... There are also many figures who campaign for the preservation, albeit in a slightly renovated form, of the same old administrative-edict system founded on rigid centralized economic planning and no less rigid management of other spheres of public life. And they see this alone as the way out of the crisis. The idea that October was a historic mistake and that it is necessary to turn back and once again receive "schooling in capitalism" is increasingly persistently being foisted on society. Despite the seemingly opposite nature of these extreme viewpoints, they have a single, anti-perestroika essence. But Soviet trade unions are in favor of perestroika and the socialist renewal of society in accordance with Lenin. It is from this that our election platform proceeds.

[Nikolayev] How would you characterize just its basic outlines, with due regard for the exchange of opinions that took place at the plenum?

[Yanayev] At the center of our platform is the working person with his cares, needs, and problems. He must really feel that precisely the trade unions are the genuine defenders of his rights and interests and that precisely they, above all, are concerned about steadily raising living standards and creating better conditions both in production and in daily life.

You do not have to be a seer to claim already today that problems of the economy, of extricating the national economy from its crisis state, the fate of the economic reform, and ways to further develop and deepen it will be at the epicenter of the election struggle. Our platform clearly speaks of the trade unions' position in all these areas.

The food question was discussed keenly at the plenum. A strained situation persists almost everywhere in the supply of foodstuffs. Alarming figures were cited. The unsatisfied public demand for food is estimated at more than R40 billion in 1989. People are rightly indignant that food prices are rising—covertly in state trade, overtly in cooperative trade, and in the markets. This can no longer be tolerated. Our plenum supported the wishes contained in the agrarian deputies' well known appeal to the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies on fundamental problems of rural development. Somehow those points were later partially forgotten and

pushed into the background in the work of the top legislative organ. This was why we recommended including them in the trade unions' election platforms.

In our election platform we devote great attention to increasing production of consumer goods. The shortage of them creates social tension. We hope that the population will give broad support to those points of our platform which propose specific measures to increase production of goods and prevent the "erosion" of the cheapest of them.

Could we really have bypassed such a very acute problem as housing? It affects the lives of 40 million families.

Questions of ecology and the development of culture occupy a large place in our platform. This is almost the first time that the following question, for example, has arisen. During the past 3 years approximately 3 million people have already been released from enterprises in the course of the economic reform. So far this process has not been too painful. However, the switch to new management methods, the conversion of military production, the mothballing of many construction projects, and scientific and technical progress are exacerbating the situation, not day-by-day but hour by hour, as it were. The inability of the statewide job-placement system to protect, above all, such categories of citizens as people of limited fitness for work, women, and young people from unemployment is already being revealed. All this requires the immediate creation of a program to combat unemployment. The correct action is being taken by those trade union organizations which leave the right to work as the most important program demand in their election platforms.

See how many problems have to be taken into account!

[Nikolayev] And yet many of them are included in the election documents of other organizations and various public forces...

[Yanayev] Yes, the times now are such that it is both easy and simple to advance demands. The democratization of life and glasnost have made us all bolder. But our position must be distinguished by the fact that in every specific case the trade unions can propose an alternative option and back up their proposal with material resources. It is important that voters understand this. People must know that the trade unions not only demand something, but can and do do a great deal themselves.

[Nikolayev] Your tactical tasks were discussed keenly at the plenum.

[Yanayev] What is there to be surprised at here, particularly if you take account of the fact that we were essentially faced with formulating the tactic of the trade unions' involvement in the election struggle for the first time in many years? And a great many questions had piled up! Take the nomination of candidates, for example. How could we act more correctly? Nominate

and support only trade union candidates? Unite in a bloc with other public forces? Give support to independent candidates? Clearly, in each specific case it is worth examining the possibility of one choice or another. But there are also general principles.

Of course, it is a question primarily of the worthy representation of working people on organs of people's power. The trade unions have a profound interest in nominating for the soviets the most committed fighters for perestroika and the renewal of society who enjoy the people's deserved respect and trust, their own comrades in labor who are capable of thinking and working in the new way. Among these candidates it is particularly important for the trade unions to ensure the worthy representation of labor, scientific, and training collectives. In our view, the trade unions are called upon to give the most active support to the nomination of ordinary workers and peasants as deputies. Of course, this position of ours requires elucidation.

We value highly the intelligentsia's contribution to preparing public awareness for the current perestroika of society and to formulating conceptual approaches toward our country's revolutionary renewal and the creation in it of an atmosphere of real democracy and glasnost. But it is also necessary to speak of something else. Precisely in the interests of perestroika and the renewal of socialism we must also note the attempts to belittle the role of the working class and the ordinary peasantry in the life of our society and to force representatives of the leading creative forces onto the sidelines of political life and, essentially, the desire to place workers, peasants, and ordinary working people outside politics.

In certain circles this situation receives not only approval, but also theoretical substantiation. "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's" and "unto the fitter the things that are the fitter's," such defenders of democracy unashamedly pontificate from rostrums and the pages of the press.

How can we fail to recall here Vladimir Ilich's wise instructions?

What is needed to strengthen Soviet power? he asks in his article "Better Less, but Better." "For this the best elements in our social system—namely, first, progressive workers and, second, really enlightened elements for which you can vouch that they will not take a single word on trust and will not say a word against their conscience—must not be afraid to admit to any difficulty or

fear any struggle to achieve the aim which they have seriously set themselves." This is Lenin's understanding of the unity of the working class and the truly enlightened intelligentsia, whose best representatives the trade unions will support widely in the elections.

[Nikolayev] You speak of support. But do the trade union organizations themselves intend to nominate candidates?

[Yanayev] In accordance with the election laws of the USSR and the union republics, labor and training collectives, public organizations, and meetings of voters at places of residence have the right to nominate people's deputies. In our opinion, the trade unions can take an active part in nominating candidate deputies in each of these three areas.

Placing at the center of attention the task of ensuring labor collectives' worthy representation on the soviets, trade unions do not have the right to ignore the interests of territories. These are, above all, the interests of 56 million pensioners and also of the entire rising generation and the majority of the creative, scientific intelligentsia.

[Nikolayev] Trade union organs, including the AUCCTU, have recently been criticized probably most of all by the leaders of certain informal movements. It is also frequently said that they will set up their own candidacies in opposition to your trade union ones in the elections.

[Yanayev] I would not be hasty with oppositions. And our plenum advocated, above all, the consolidation of all social forces in the struggle for perestroika. We also favor cooperation with so-called informal groups and movements.

Unfortunately, ideas and leaders of an extremist trend who push people's healthy initiative and activeness onto a path of confrontation and cheap demagoguery find support in certain informal groups. Clearly, in the interests of the whole country and the working person, the preparations for the elections must not contribute to a split or help to intensify demarcation.

The AUCCTU Appeal to Trade Union Members and the Country's Citizens, which was adopted at the plenum, also states clearly and distinctly that we are ready for cooperation with everyone who values the ideals of socialist renewal and social justice. And we will not deviate from these goals.